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EDITORIAL

The editor-in-chief, on behalf of the editorial board, is delighted to present **Issue 1 Vol.1 2017**, of the *Nairobi Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* (NJHSS) to our esteemed readers and the research community at large. Taking an inter/multi-disciplinary approach, NJHSS creates a platform for researchers to timely publish and share their research findings in the areas of Humanities and Social Sciences. Being an open access journal, NJHSS provides opportunities for researchers, academicians and professionals to publish and access scholarly articles in Kenya, Africa and around the world.

John Mugubi and William Mureithi open the account of this issue with a terse analysis of cinematography in Kenyan Riverwood films. Focusing on three selected Riverwood films, the duo offer an incisive analysis of how various aspects of cinematography impact on narrative preferences deployed by Riverwood filmmakers. The paper concludes that Kenyan filmmakers strive to strike a balance between individual ingeniousness and elements of cinematography in creating compelling films for their audiences. Solomon Onchoke and Xu Wen article examines perceptions of women among the Abagusii of Kenya under the lens of the conceptual metaphor. Their findings show that the woman is perceived as an object, a plant, an animal and/or the appropriate behaviour she exhibits within the Abagusii socio-cultural prism (sic). Seraphine Kerich interrogates the intersection between private memory and history in selected works of Abdulrazak Gurnah. Her close reading of Gurnah's creative works divulges that memory and history play a pivotal role in shaping identities of Zanzibari Arabs in the diaspora revealing the trauma that this group suffered as a result of colonisation. Bwocha Nyagemi examines the twin elements of history and historicization in selected poems from the anthology of *Poems from East Africa*. Bwocha's exegesis of selected poems discloses that there is a one-to-one correlation between the messages contained in the poems and the historicities surrounding the context of their creation. Rosemary Murundu examines the use of silence as a technique in Adichie Chimamanda's *Purple Hibiscus*. Murundu's analysis points out that silence in Chimamanda's *Purple Hibiscus* is conceptualized as a double-edged strategy for articulating how power is used to control and regulate those in the margins and how those in the margins manipulate power to negotiate their being in the margins. Echezonachukwu Nduka explores how creative arts such as poetry and music can be deployed productively in resolving conflicts in Africa. Danbello Ahmadu examines the influence of foreign films on Nigerian youth. Using *Mad Money* as a case in point, Ahmadu shows that foreign films play a key role in the moral decadence of the youth in Nigeria. Beneah Shapaya explores the development of children television shows in Kenya. Taking a historical stance, Shapaya shows how children television shows have evolved to come of age in Kenya.

The editor-in-chief is very grateful to the dedication of members of the editorial board and advisory board in developing this journal and enabling this issue see light of day. The contributions made by the peer-reviewers for this Issue cannot be described in words. The prompt responses from the authors during the review and editorial processes is worth mentioning. A big thank you to all those who have made the journey of this inaugural issue as success.

Wishing all our esteemed readers a pulsating read.

Dr John Mugubi
Editor-in-Chief
Kenyatta University

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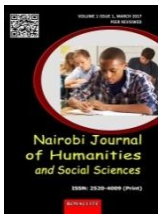

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Concomitants of Socio-Cultural Exigencies on Narrative Preferences in the Kenyan "Riverwood" Film

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ABSTRACT

In a report commissioned by the World Story Organization in 2008, Justine Edwards points out that storyline lies at the centre of problems that Kenyan films face in trying to "break down the wall preventing Kenyan films from being shown and celebrated beyond Kenyan borders" (2). This paper goes a step further to interrogate this observation through an analysis of three works by three representative Kenyan home grown film makers: Wandahuhu's Njohera (Forgive Me), Simon Nduti's Kikulacho (What Bites You) and Simiyu Barasa's Toto Millionaire. These film makers have made films under the banner of a Kenyan film industry that has come to be informally known as Riverwood—the Kenyan filmindustry associated with Nairobi's River Road Street where cheaply produced independent home videos are made in mass mainly by Kenyan film makers working with a Kenyan crew and cast. By measuring their works against narrative conventions established in classical cinema, this paper evaluates Kenyan home grown film standards as defined by the narrative choices made by the film makers. In so doing, it is essentially guided by narratological theories developed by the constructivist school of film criticism. Constructivist film theory is founded on the tenet that it is the reader (viewer) of the film text that constructs the story and meanings in the story using the clues that the film maker puts before him or her on the screen. Other relevant theoretical positions are applied as need arises to cater for the multidisciplinary nature of film as an art. The methodology used is textual analysis and interpretation, therefore qualitative in nature.

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Introduction

In the period between the 1910s and 1950s, the Hollywood studio system established what has come to be known as "the classical Hollywood narrative structure". Due to its adoption the world over, this narrative structure has come to be referred to simply as the "classical film narrative system". According to Pramaggiore and Wallis (2006), this system created a film style "in which the story is paramount," and all its elements "contribute unobtrusively to the flow of the story" (Pramaggiore and Wallis, 23). Over time, this style has formed the most influential formula of film narrative construction.

The essence of the classical film narrative does not deviate much from the original Aristotelian conception of dramatic structure consisting of a beginning, middle and an end. However, it falls more along the lines of Tzvetlan Todorov's interpretation of the three-act structure that starts with a state of equilibrium, develops through a period of disruption of equilibrium and ends with restoration of equilibrium (Buckland 2008, 38). This is a kernel form that shapes the story and its plot, and which film shares with most narrative arts, notably the novel and drama. It is therefore in the details of putting together the chain of events along the narrative cause-effect logic that classical film narrative "rules" become apparent—partly due to textual specificity exacted by a photographic image accompanied by a sound track; the basic unit of film language. It is here that Bordwell (2001) locates what he calls "duality" of film narrative; meaning the interplay between plot as *syuzhet* and story as *fabula.* It is here too that Pramaggiore locates five elements of filmic narrative: characters, actions, time, place and causality. For the purpose of this paper, characters, their action and dialogue are considered together as the three are virtually inseparable in the narrative process. To plot and story, time and space, causality and character, this paper adds narration and theme.

The interpretation of the elements mentioned above has been done here according to the constructivist conceptualisation of classical narrative form. The plot (*syuzhet*) constitutes both the diegetic and non-diegetic material explicitly presented on screen regardless of causal order. The story (*fabula*) constitutes the chronological causally ordered diegetic material, both explicit in the plot and inferred from plot cues (Bordwell, 62). Diegesis here simply means "the story world". Time and space has both general and specific import: general in terms of historical/geographic location and specific in terms of editing/mise-en-scène. Both categories have broad implications on the overall flow and comprehension of a film story. Causality is a pervasive factor that applies to everything in the story and plot as well as to the process of narration. It refers to the cause-effect link between one event and another as dictated by spatio-temporal considerations, character motivation, social reality, thematic concerns or laws of probability and necessity. It also includes the factor of motivation by which any instance of a film narrative is justified by the function it plays in the overall signification of the story in relation to other elements therein. Character is about causal agents in the narrative, their identity, roles, goals, actions, believability, their psychology and transformation by the end of the story. Theme speaks to the socio-cultural and ideological context within which a narrative operates, mostly at a sub-textual level. Finally, narration includes filmic devices (visual and audio) employed in the plot construction as well as the "voice and eyes" (perspective) through which we view and navigate the story.

In manipulating these elements in the constructivist mould, popular films governed by the classical narrative formula observe the following broad imperatives:

Clarity. Viewers should not be confused about space, time, events, or character motivations.

Unity. Connections between cause and effect must be direct and complete.

Identification. Characters should invite viewer empathy, be active and seek goals.

Closure. Third acts and epilogues should tie up loose ends and answer all questions.

"Unobtrusive craftsmanship" (Thompson 1999, 9). Stories are told in a manner that draws viewers into the diegesis and does not call attention to the storytelling process (Pramaggiore and Wallis 2006, 46).

Guided by these imperatives, the classical narrative elements are key to communication of meaning in cinematic storytelling. They have not only informed the technological and technical developments in the growth of cinema as a narrative art, they have done so in accordance with the viewer's response. In a continual cycle of feedback, exposure to the classical style and techniques through the years has created in film audiences certain expectations regarding structural organisation of filmic material (Pramaggiore, 7-11) against which every new film is gauged in terms of how well it re-affirms, modifies or contravenes them. Diawara (1992) traces Anglophone Africa film legacy to this classical film culture via the British colonial regime that did not do much to encourage development of a local film aesthetic and industry in the same way that France did in Francophone countries of Africa. It may therefore be safely surmised that the Kenyan cinema-going public possesses film narrative sensibilities and expectations fairly comparable to any that have been acquired through exposure to classical (American commercial and European art) cinema. This fact is established through an observation of the development of cinema in Kenya over a century.

Synopses

Following are story summaries (*fabulae*) of the three films treated in this review.

Kikulacho

Kikulacho (Nduti, 2008) is the story of Pastor Edwin, a double-dealing man of God who cheats not only on God, but also on his family and the women he befriends. Edwin starts his ministry preaching in the streets. One year later, he is hired by People's Revival Church as the resident pastor. He immediately starts an affair with Sue, the office secretary. Back at home there is tension in the family. Pastor Edwin's wife, Gloria, upbraids him for his absence and lack of support. He lies to her that he has important church functions. Their teenage son and daughter, John and Mercy, exhibit delinquent behaviour that could be attributed to their father's neglect. While he drinks alcohol and jumps from one woman to another, his son is also engaging in substance abuse (cigarettes, bhang, and alcohol) and his daughter in illicit sex. In August 2005, Edwin wins one million shillings in *Bambua Tafrija* raffle, which leads to his dismissal from People's Revival Church (PRC) for setting a bad example by taking part in a contest organized by a brewing company. Edwin goes back to preaching in the street and continues his drinking and womanizing. One day, he is approached by Richard, one of his followers, who entrusts the pastor with his daughter for guidance and counseling. The pastor helps himself to her and soon thereafter, the girl is pregnant. In a revenge mission, Richard teams up with Sue, who happens to have had a child by the same Pastor. Richard befriends Mercy (the pastor's

daughter) and sets a date with her at the same hotel room and time that Sue has called Edwin to join her. The story ends with Pastor in bed with his own daughter.

Njohera

Njohera (Kimani, 2005) is the story of Wandahuhu, a family man who leaves home to find work in the city where he meets and marries another woman. Driven away by poverty and constant state of need, he leaves behind a family comprising of Wa Gacuma, his wife, and Gacuma, his son. They are all members of *Akorino,* a religious sect that uses a turban as symbol of faith. After three days away, Wandahuhu meets up with Nyakirata, a helpful tenant at a compound in a city suburb where he finds a room to stay. One day, Nyakirata is locked out of her house on account of rent arrears and she takes refuge at Wandahuhu's room where she takes the bed and he the couch. After three days, discomfort on the part of Wandahuhu causes them to share the bed. After a long absence from home, Wandahuhu's wife decides to send Gacuma to search for his father. He finds him living as husband and wife with Nyakirata. The turban is gone from his head. Gacuma fetches his mother and a verbal confrontation ends with Wandahuhu denouncing his rural family. Mother and son go back home. Gacuma is hired by some white folks as a film actor and he makes money enough to raise their standard of life beyond his mother's wildest dreams. Meanwhile in the city, Wandahuhu has fallen ill and is thrown out by Nyakirata, in whose name he has registered all his property. He ends up a destitute beggar in the street. Hunger and desperation drives Wandahuhu back home where he asks for forgiveness. He is received with kindness by Wa Gacuma against her son's disinclination.

Toto Millionaire

Toto Millionaire (Barasa, 2007) is the story of Toto, a little boy who must find money for her sick mother's medication and their upkeep. It all starts in a single-room hotel in a rural village market where a single mother, Mama Toto, is in bed, sick. Her son, Toto, goes around to relatives and friends begging money for medicine and food but is repulsed with hostile insults. One day, a motorist stops by the market and Toto sneaks into the back of his car and is transported to the city. In a city suburb, Toto runs into Supa and his friend Barry G, two disillusioned city council workers with dreams of getting rich through three-million shillings *Drink and Win* raffle. Toto immediately gets into trouble with the two, who take him for a street boy, but a certain prostitute intervenes. Supa hires Toto to sell his groundnuts and disguised *marijuana*. Meanwhile back home, his sick mother sets out in search of him. Soon, the winning number of the raffle is announced and Toto finds the winning bottle-top at Supa's house. He keeps it, escapes the two drunkards (Supa and Barry G) and embarks on a little journey to find Mamba Bottlers, the sponsors of the contest. On his way he encounters a taxi driver who assaults and injures him as he robs him of a bottle-top that later turns out to be the wrong one. Thereafter, Toto meets up with a delusional preacher who takes him to his house and sets about coaching him with the intention of using him to get sponsorship money from white philanthropists. But it is the prostitute who finally helps Toto get to Mamba Bottlers, where he meets Philip, the man in charge of the contest. Philip invites Toto to his house and attempts to steal the bottle-top at night. Meanwhile, his mother arrives in the city suburb only to be robbed of her basket of bananas by Barry G. The next day, Toto is presented with his prize of three million shillings on TV.

Mama Toto travels back home and is shortly followed by Toto. Supa and Barry G arrive at the village and their snooping around in search of Toto's home discloses Toto's fortune and exposes the family to parasitic relatives, friends and neighbours.

Narration

The term "narration" in the classical narrative system spans a wide spectrum of strategies and techniques of story delivery, that is, how the narrative puts together story information and relays it to the viewer. In constructivist conception, it is the narration that provides cues for the viewer to form and test hypotheses, and make inferences that help him or her build the story from the plot. It therefore has far reaching implications on aspects of time and space, causality, character, mise-en-scène, cinematography and post production processes of image and sound editing. The cumulative effect of the manipulation of these elements in narration, according to a constructivist approach to understanding film narrative, results in different levels of range and depth of information accessible to the viewer (Bordwell, 2001, 70-75). Range of information refers to the extent of knowledge that the narrating agent makes available. This can fall anywhere between restricted and unrestricted depending on the point of view of narration. Depth of information on the other hand refers to levels of subjectivity and/or objectivity of knowledge that is made available in terms of how deep the narrative agent allows us into the characters' psyche. Both range and depth are therefore relative terms that occur at different levels at different points of the narrative. This paper approaches narration as it is prominently manifest in the three Kenyan stories in relation to narrational techniques prevalent in the classical film style whose basic principle is immersion through unobtrusive narration, that is, one that does not attract attention to itself.

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Point of View and Cinematography

Point of view primarily means the eyes and ears through which we see and hear the goings on in the narrative—regardless of whether it is the vantage point where the film's narrating voice places the viewer or the optical/aural point-of-view (POV shot) that relays events through the eyes and ears of a specific character. As such, the main component of point of view is the camera, from which we can get varying degrees of restricted/unrestricted and subjective/objective views of events.

The three films under study use omniscient narration. The camera takes us from one place to another, showing us events that happen independently, and without privileging any one character's view of things or psycho-emotional disposition. Characters' internal states are accessed though external monologue, as in the instance where the deluded preacher in *Toto Millionaire* addresses an empty chair as if talking to Toto, who has already fled. The range and depth of knowledge in omniscient narration is therefore largely unrestricted and objective. Only at one point in *Njohera* does the narrating agent get subjective when we penetrate Wa Gacuma's memory of the moment she bode farewell to her husband. This invites the viewer's identification as it intensifies her feelings of loneliness to which we get intimately involved.

A "water drop" dissolve in close-up marks our entry into the memories of Wa Gacuma

Figure 1: Subjective narration in *Njohera*

The autonomy of the narrating agent afforded by omniscient narration suits the three stories given their illustrational nature and purpose. Every incident is slotted in to fit into a framework of thematic significance, which is the foremost organising principle of events in the narratives. Differences in narration occur at the level of attitude and nuances of view in what can be termed "camera personality".

In *Kikulacho* and *Njohera,* the narration proceeds in a way that the camera is largely uninvolved in the story's goings on. Its only concern is to record characters, their situation and their actions without meddling in or commenting on them or their environment. Whereas in the former it does this in a methodical manner that is sometimes frivolous, in the latter, it does so in a passive and servile manner. But in both, it mostly maintains an almost stand-offish attitude that borders more on observation than on narration. This is marked by a stationary camera whose occasional movement is essentially for a re-framing rather than narrating purpose. The net effect of this method is that we end up interacting with the film in a rather superficial manner that does not delve into details that would engage us deeply with the narrative's goings on. For instance, this lack of intimacy compels some of the characters to express their intentions and emotions by indicating them externally as evident in the following images.

(Left) Pastor Edwin behaves in a way that suggests ill intention and (right) Richard indicates how aggrieved he feels after discovering his daughter is pregnant

Figure 2: Externalisation in *Kikulacho*

Kikulacho's methodical manner is best exemplified in its use of conventional techniques such as shot/reverse and establishing shots without making more spatial meaning than just to tell us "this is where we are and this is what is going on". For example, the series of long shots of buildings and other objects that depict the Nairobi cityscape at the start of the second part of the film (scene 7) are all at a low angle that establishes little spatial relationship, neither between them nor with the significant action that follows. A classical establishing shot would use an aerial angle that zooms in from an extremely long shot in a manner analogous to literary descriptive passages, to zero in on the significant action in a manner analogous to literary dialogue passages. However, given the illustrational functioning of the sequence in *Kikulacho*, the viewer gets an accurate, though approximate, picture of the location of action the same way he/she does from the transitional shots of a mansion.

A succession of buildings to mark the cityscape end with Edwin's placement in its general location

Figure 3: Transitional establishing shots in *Kikulacho*

A comparison with *Toto Millionaire*'s treatment of similar images, indeed starting with

the very same building and using the same low angle shots in an establishing-cum-transitional sequence (scene 8), shows what difference conscious narration rather than illustration can make. Here, the shot on the first skyscraper dissolves into the next before a pan takes us to the building in which the significant action is taking place.

Fig 4: **Transitional establishing shots in** *Toto Millionaire*

In *Kikulacho*, methodical narration is also evident in dialogue scenes where characters are observed from three vantage positions in space: together, from character 1's position and from character 2's position. This is the classical shot/reverse-shot convention, but in *Kikulacho* it gives away little of the characters' psycho-emotional relationship by avoiding a direct point-of-view or a close-up reaction shot of any character. In this way, it serves only a spatial function. But in a few instances in *Kikulacho,* the narrating agent acts out of its methodical character and develops a fleeting identity through editing.. An example occurs at the end of scene five and beginning of scene six:

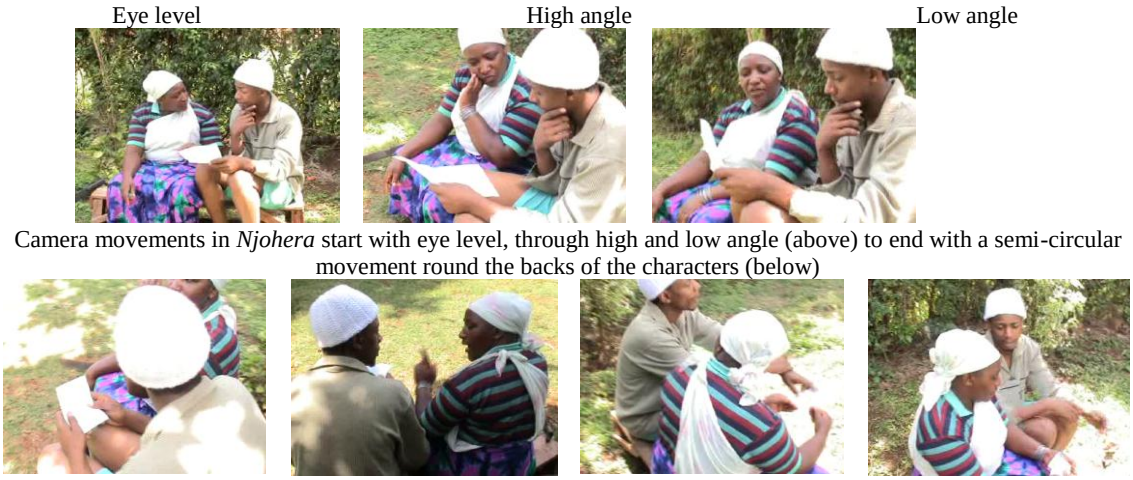
John's receding back is followed by a zoom-in on bottle tops in the dust, a cross-fade to crystal balls bearing a title and a cut to John and Gloria days later

Figure 5: Narration in *Kikulacho*

Here, we watch the receding backs of Edwin then John. But we stay behind and the camera zooms in on the bottle tops the two have just discarded on the ground. We then cross-fade. The image then dissolves and we enter the next shot looking at crystal balls of a chandelier imitation that shortly gives way to the characters in the new scene (Gloria, John and Mercy). The narrative conception and artistic intent in this sequence is quintessential classical style especially in the way the image of bottle-tops in the dust transmutes to "chandelier" crystal balls minutes after one of the bottle-tops wins Edwin a million Kenyan Shillings in prize money. It portends a metamorphosis from dust to gems; from poverty to wealth. But this narrative significance is watered down by the sequence's frivolous

execution. Firstly, the camera seems to follow John's receding back for a slight moment before "changing its mind" and "nosing about" over the trash in search of the bottle tops. A classical camera would remain dead still "watching" the receding figure of the character before smoothly tilting down to "look at" the bottle tops contemplatively. Secondly, the relationship between the "crystal chandelier's" location in space and the characters is not established in scene six as a cut (instead of a zoom out) links this shot with the next (of Gloria and John). This makes it feel like the crystal balls are there to serve a non-diegetic function (as a nice backdrop to the transition title "August 2005") rather than a narrative role, since we are left unsure of whether the "chandelier" is in the same room as the characters.

The narrating agent's identity in *Njohera* is even more lifeless if unintended technical hitches that draw attention to the camera (hand held shaky recording, manual light and colour adjustment and other evidences of the camera operator and post-production picture correction) are ignored. Action is viewed from a single camera position in a theatrical fashion. This creates a disinterested or passive narration. Where the camera "fetches" other images to enrich the main action images, it does so with a servile or what Barthes, as quoted by Thompson, (Rosen 1986, 131) might call obtuse—manner. For instance when Wa Gacuma and Gacuma are through listening to Wandahuhu's voice-over reading the letter in scene three, we rise from an eye level to approach them from a slightly over-the-head angle, then stoop to a low angle, before clumsily rising again to circle behind their back in a manoeuvre that attracts attention to the camera movement more than to anything else. The intention of the movement is understandably to mimic the mobile frame of a classical tracking shot. But in the absence of a well thought out succession of camera movements, and perhaps the equipment to facilitate its smooth execution, this sequence ends up being little more than a wishful approximation of camera mobility.



Camera movements in *Njohera* start with eye level, through high and low angle (above) to end with a semi-circular movement round the backs of the characters (below)

Figure 6: Narration in *Njohera*

While the frivolity of the camera in *Kikulacho* may be said to match the frivolity of its main character and the narrative on the whole, the servility of *Njohera*'s camera is not defensible in the same way. It only shows that narration was not considered much of a factor in the conception of this narrative, its end being only to illustrate a moral lesson using recorded images and sounds. But as Andrew (1984, 14) puts it, "the sheer recording of an event…fails to attain the level of *cinema"* because of implications of "the twin experience

spectators are given in every film: that of recognizing something they can identify and that of constructing something worth identifying" These two Kenyan films tend to favour recognition at the expense, or to the exclusion, of construction.

A more "constructivist" identity of the narrating agent is crafted in *Toto Millionaire*. The camera in this film manifests awareness of exactly what it wants to tell by positioning itself strategically and showing us as much significant detail as possible. For instance, it sets the tone right from the first establishing shot of a lone figure against an open field in deep focus. This not only establishes the rural setting, it foreshadows Toto's vulnerability in a wide unfathomable world of the city later in the story. The camera then takes us to another significant image: a window boarded up with old carton papers in place of glass panes. This signifies the poverty and perpetual state of want that pervades the film throughout. The very last shot of the narrative reiterates this feeling of gloom and stasis as the camera leaves the earthly characters and tilts upwards as if in appeal to the celestial. One is led to infer that unlike in *Kikulacho,* the bottle tops in *Toto Millionaire* are not likely to metamorphose into a crystal chandelier, in spite of the latter's sentimental ending title.

The first two images and the last of *Toto Millionaire* that set the pathos of the story

Figure 7*:* Narration in *Toto Millionaire*

A good example of strategic positioning is also noted in the flagrantly low-angled front and rear shots of Toto running to exaggerate his flight through space as indicative of a race against time, both in his quest for a solution to the emergency at home and in his desire to get to Mamba bottlers before his enemies catch up with him. The reverse of these shots can be found in scene six when Toto escapes from the preacher's house. This high angle shot from a stationary camera draws out our sympathy by creating a sad picture of a diminutive Toto against a big, hostile and impersonal world in a way that says "there he goes again".

Toto's flight from the preacher's house from a high angle

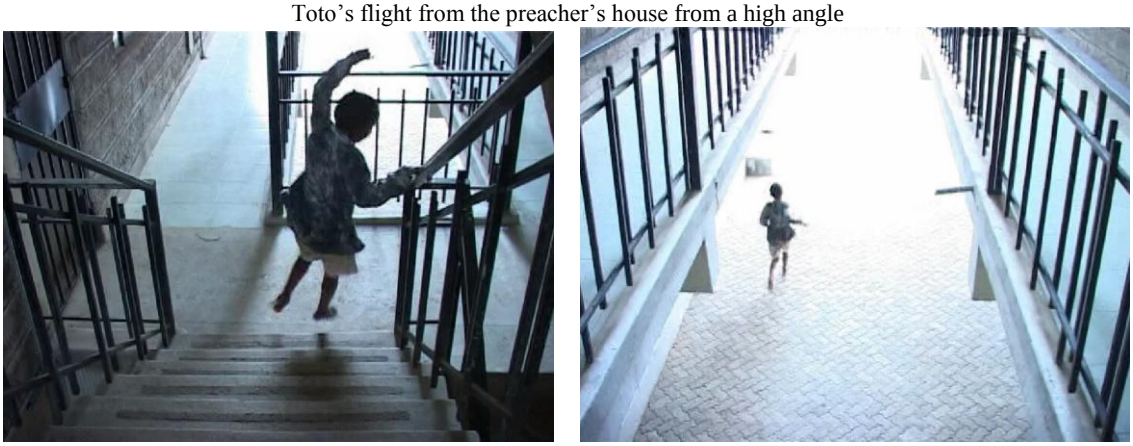


Figure 8: The running motif in *Toto Millionaire*

The inquisitive character of the narrator in this film has already been established in the analysis of causality. The parenthetical events mentioned are bracketed by a "sneaky" camera that keeps "peeking" at events that are somewhat contingent, though not pertinent to the story. This "nosiness" of the narrating agent explores space better in this film compared to the other two. For instance it takes us through narrow alleyways through which sneaky thieves disappear, like Barry G after robbing Mama Toto. It also reveals details that could otherwise be overlooked unless borne on dialogue. An example is the discovery by Toto of the winning bottle-top at Supa's house and his treacherous hiding of it in his hip pocket. This could paint Toto as dishonest, but given the way the narrator presents it, coupled with our knowledge of the gravity of his situation, a little dishonesty is a small price to pay and we accept to tacitly collude with the narrator to let Toto keep the bottle top.

(Left) Barry G runs though an alley with Mama Toto's basket, (centre) the winning bottle top in Toto's hands and (right) Toto hides the bottle top in his pocket.

Figure 9: Prying camera in *Toto Millionaire*

However, this prying personality of *Toto Millionaire's* narrator is exaggerated in certain scenes. The most obvious is at the award ceremony in scene eight when Philip announces Toto the winner of three million shillings. The narrator positions us behind a diegetic television crew recording the event, over whose shoulders we view the action through the feedback screen of the crew's camera operator. Its narrative and artistic intent would serve as an exemplary instance of the way a film narrative can circumvent classical conventions in a way that is novel, fresh and enriching. For instance, it creates a distanciation that allows

Philip to look straight into our camera with the illusion created being that this is mediated by the diegetic one, hence acceptable. But the length of time this scene is allowed to run (including the diegetic post-recording comments by Philip) is meant to "rub in" this ingenuity, greatly watering down its effect by calling attention to itself. A classical rendition of such an instance would show a brief part of the live recording event and, using a match-on-action cut, take the viewer to the television footage reporting the event in the pub and at the preacher's house.

Toto Millionaire also uses the conventional shot/reverse-shot, POV and close-up shots to capture more than just spatial dynamics. Unlike *Kikulacho* and *Njohera,* characters are shown in these types of shots even where they are not the ones speaking. This reveals characters' reactions and emotions. For instance, Philip's contempt for the taxi driver is captured in a reaction shot while a point-of-view shot aptly captures the latter's brutality earlier when he attacks Toto. Toto's own state of wretchedness, suffering and vulnerability is indelibly captured in close-up shots.

A contemptuous Philip in a reaction shot and the brutal taxi driver from Toto's POV

The miserable faces of Toto captured in medium close-up

Figure 10: Some types of shots in *Toto Millionaire*

SOUND

Sound in filmic narration can be analysed at two major levels: diegetic and non-diegetic. Diegetic sounds are those that are deemed to emanate from the story world, such as those that are made by the characters and those that are environmental. Non-diegetic sounds are those that are inserted into the plot and that are obviously not part of the story world, such as voice-overs and mood music. In the three films, both these types of sounds are present. Their nature and design may vary, but their functions remain more or less the same.

In *Njohera,* there is a simple design of the sound track that is characteristic of the film's essentially simple construction. There is only one non-diegetic "theme" song: *Be Magnified* (Don Moen), which announces the central theme right from the opening titles accompanied

by introductory diegetic clips of the characters inset against a non-diegetic still background. The words of the song makes it obvious why it is chosen:

> I have made you too small in my eyes, oh Lord *forgive me*
> And I have believed in a lie, that you were unable to help me
> But now oh Lord I see my wrong
> You're my heart and show yourself strong
> And in my eyes and with my song
> Oh Lord be magnified, oh Lord be magnified

The film's title *Njohera* means "forgive me" in Gikuyu, and is captured in the last words of the song's first line. These are the same words that Wandahuhu utters upon his return home at the last scene of the film. Besides its touching message, the song's instrumental track paints a poignant tone that recurs at every transition as a premonition of the sentiments on which the story concludes. The film ends with the same verse of the song against the same non-diegetic background as if to appeal to something, someone, beyond the diegesis, which reiterates the films core religious anchorage of the film. Although the overall character of the soundtrack in this aspect is rather static, its illustrational function in the narrative is apt and complete.

The only other instance of non-diegetic sound in this film is of Wandahuhu's voice over reading his letter in scene three. While the idea of it is conventional in the classical film mode of narration, its execution invades the diegesis in a jarring manner. First, it is Gacuma who is asked by his mother to read the letter. Second, Wandahuhu's voice does not flow the way words of a letter would; at some point he repeats words or rephrases a sentence in a live speech manner. Thirdly, and most jarringly, the two characters in the diegesis behave towards the paper the way one would to a person in a live conversation, including waving goodbye at the end. If this is intended as a personification technique, a better manner of executing it would have been to superimpose a clip of Wandahuhu's image on the paper. This is one instance that demonstrates the distancing effect of illustrational storytelling.

Some of Wa Gacuma's and Gacuma's reactions to Wandahuhu's voice-over reading a letter

Figure 11: Excess in narration of *Njohera*

There are several instances of diegetic singing in the plot of *Njohera.* When Wandahuhu leaves home for work in the city at the end of scene one, Wa Gacuma escorts him singing happily together an Agikuyu song whose words translate as "travel with Jesus, He is the rock". This signifies hope, and contrasts sharply with a song she sings to him in the last scene when he returns home. Its central line translates as "what did you find that caused

you to backslide?" It both bemoans and reprimands his slip in faith. However, it also serves a non-diegetic end; that of publicising Beatrice Wangui (Wa Gacuma in the film) and her album that features the song as captured in the last frame of the film.

Wa Gacuma sings to Wandahuhu a song that is advertised in a title on the last frame of the film

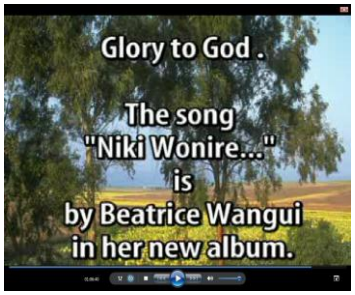


Figure 12: Diegetic and non-diegetic use of songs in *Njohera*

Other diegetic sounds are environmental. They include birds chirping, a cock crowing, a cow's moo, a radio and other noises that serve spatial and contextual functions. Some of these sounds also invade the diegesis. An example is where an unintended grating sound causes Wa Gacuma to cringe. Another is the sound of a cup's contact with Wandahuhu's teeth that reveals it to be empty while purportedly at least half-filled with porridge.

Wa Gacuma cringes at unintended diegetic sound and Wandahuhu's empty cup is given away by its sound

Figure 13: Diegetic violation of sound in *Njohera*

Kikulacho's sound scheme is comparable to that of *Njohera* with the only difference being in scale, as is with the difference in amount of narrative material. Non-diegetically, where *Njohera* utilises only one recorded song with precision, *Kikulacho* uses numerous recordings mostly for mood and filling up the textural spaces of the audio spectrum especially in transitions and where dialogue is muted. Like *Njohera,* Western music, mainly of hip-hop and Rhythm and Blues character is chosen: Blackstreet, Snoop Doggy Dog, Peabo Bryson, Maria Carey, Michael Learns to Rock, and suchlike. These are used judiciously for an unobtrusive effect. Hip-hop is associated with youthful characters, while R&B goes with romantic scenes with occasional silencing of the diegetic ambience to let the words of a song carry the narrative. Such words as "I'd give anything to fall in love" and "Love me please, just a little bit longer" accompany images of Pastor Edwin's escapades with several women (scene nine) and Richard's outing with Mercy (Scene fourteen *b*) respectively. But unlike in *Njohera* where the words of the song reflect the meaning of the story accurately,

the words here do not reveal the duplicitous nature of these two affairs. They just set a general tone to illustrate the mood of romance.

However, other instances in *Kikulacho* use instrumental music whose sound punctuates and intensifies the emotional atmosphere and its fluctuation in a scene. For instance, as Richard and Sue are putting together the final details of their trap in the last scene of the film, a foreboding instrumental piece gathers momentum in the background. Its volume is highest as Pastor Edwin enters Room 103 and has sex with his daughter. Then follows an ominous, discordant tune played in the lower registers of bass and piano accompanied by thunderous sounds. It runs relentlessly to the end with a finality that paints an atmosphere of doom as final credits roll up. In the absence of action showing the consequence of this final action, this sound is all we have to work with in speculating what becomes of the characters. Needless to say, it does not bode well.

Diegetic music is also present in *Kikulacho*. The pastor sings during his sermons in the streets, and with his congregation in the church and outdoor services. This happens as a matter of course within the context of worship. Like in *Njohera* other diegetic sounds are environmental: the television, cars honking, the clamour and din of life. There is little violation of the diegesis apart from a few instances where the sound track inexplicably disappears and silence pervades the atmosphere, which can be blamed on post-production glitches more than on narrative intent. The choice of western recorded popular music (sung in English) in the two films whose medium is largely African (Kikuyu and Kiswahili) may be said to be indicative of Kenya's socio-cultural environment. Nevertheless, it reinforces the "illusions of grandeur "noted under causality, especially given that there exists an inexhaustible body of similar music by Kenyan musicians.

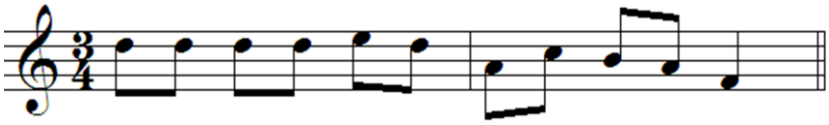
As in camera use, *Toto Millionaire* presents a more deliberate design of the sound track. Little, if any, recorded music is used in preference for simple tunes, rhythms and sound bites that unobtrusively serve the story non-diegetically at four major levels: mood, character/action identification, transition and general commentary. The film starts and ends with plaintive yet playful sounds of an instrumental ensemble that includes African percussive rhythms; the most prominent of which is a xylophonic rhythm that is mostly associated with Toto's running action.

But the dominant mood of the story is established at the first scene, as Toto talks to his mother. We hear a melancholic tune that recurs throughout in the background of the film's action and dialogue. It is a simple intermittent melody in minor tonality that is accompanied by similarly intermittent arpeggiated piano sound bites and an occasional bass that often carries the melody. Together with the xylophonic rhythm, which fluctuates according to the tempo of action, this melody is the aural narrating agent that sets the static; bleak yet light tone of the film. It also marks most of the transitions where it is sometimes joined by flowing strings for a fuller aural texture. Notably too, it marks Toto's discovery of the prize bottle top with a rise in volume that foreshadows the suffering Toto will go through as a result. Another set of "ostinato" sounds appears twice to imitate Toto's frenetic action of changing clothes in scene eight to communicate his impatience and the urgency of the moment.

But what may be considered the theme tune of the film due to its memorability and prominence in length and volume is a groovy genge-type piece that recurs especially during considerable spells of action without dialogue. It is associated mainly with Toto's two car

rides (with the stranger who unknowingly transports him to the city and with the taxi driver who assaults him). Its upbeat character creates a sense of hope and promise that goes well with the journey segments. Its function in this manner is however negated where it accompanies Supa and Barry G's search for Toto's home in the village towards the end of the film. It ends up serving more as a substitute for dialogue.

The playful xylophonic rhythm mainly associated with Toto's running action (repeat marks are used to indicate its length and not the number of times it is repeated)

Figure 14*:* Rhythmic motif in *Toto Millionaire*

(Above) the dominant melodic motif that recurs in various timbres and fragments throughout the film and (below) the upbeat ***genge-*** type instrumental groove that recurs with some variation in the film (repeat marks are used to indicate its length and not the number of times it is repeated)

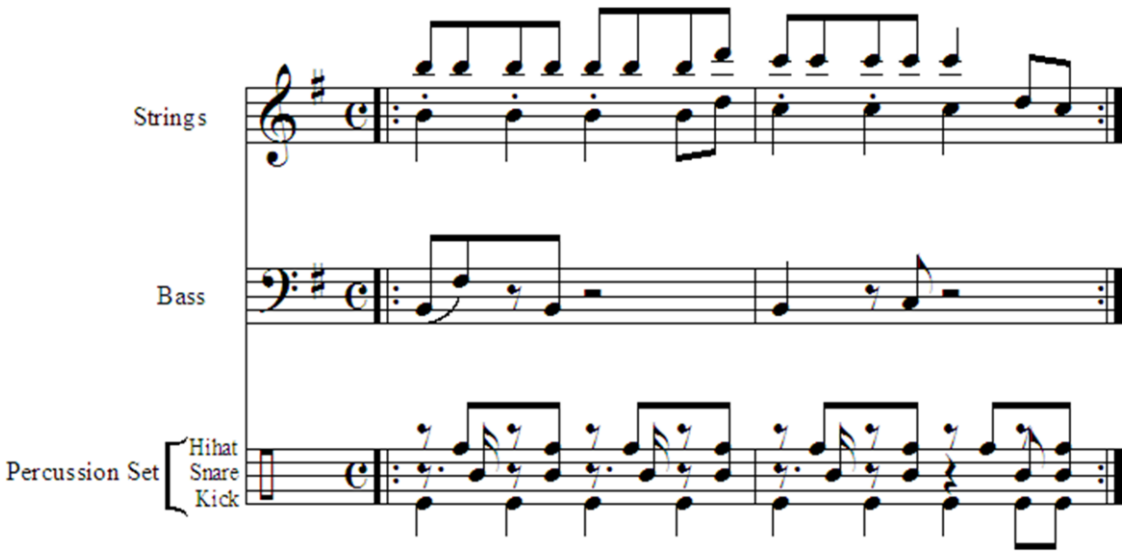



Figure 15: Melodic motifs in *Toto Millionaire*

Other non-diegetic musical sounds include a reggae rhythm that accompanies the prostitute's action of smoking marijuana. It appeals to our stereotyped social schema that associates reggae music with this drug. But whether by intent or mere coincidence, a soft sustained crash of a cymbal in the sound track is heard at the same time as the prostitute inhales a lungful of bhang smoke with an expression of ecstasy on her face in a fleeting powerful moment that fuses the diegetic with the non-diegetic.

Ecstatic sound and action of this prostitute coincides with the crash of cymbals in the sound track

Figure 16: Synchronization of non-diegetic and diegetic sound and image in *Toto Millionaire*

Diegetic sound in *Toto Millionaire* also functions at both the literal environmental level as well as symbolic semantic level. Apart from such sounds of cars driving past, constructors hammering or grinding at something, people coughing, the radio and others that give the narrative ambience and spatial depth, some sounds have been deliberately selected to comment on significant aspects of the narrative. An example is the sound of bottle tops, when a barman throws them at Toto, when Toto himself is playing with them or when Barry G is playing draughts with Supa or somebody else. The image and sound of them is a constant pointer to the ultimate part that a bottle top plays in the narrative outcome of the film. They become narratively unifying by creating a motif that raises their stature above the other objects, with the same effect that wistful piano chords draw our attention to the poster announcing the raffle competition in scene two.

Barry G's desire to win is echoed by wistful piano chords and Toto playing in one of the bottle top's motifs

Figure 17: Sound and motif in *Toto Millionaire*

An interesting treatment of diegetic sound occurs in scene six where pieces of the preacher's words "The Bible says repent now, the time is near" are repeated over and over with a staccato effect that makes the line ring unreal. Besides being consistent with the preacher's delusional state of mind, it lampoons profit-driven religiosity.

As evident in choices made in these three films, the audio track design of Kenyan film narratives is just perfunctory. This happens to be the case even with the classical film tradition of which Stam (2000, 222), with regard to music, notes that "the leitmotif became a rather mechanical device for allying particular themes to particular characters, themes which were returned to with minimal variation during the course of the film" and "tended to be redundant, subliminal, hackneyed, and comfortably tonal," to imply that not much creativity or freshness generally goes into the design of the soundtrack. But Stam goes further to point out that "since music is closely tied to communitarian culture and 'structure

of feeling', it can tell us where a film's emotional heart is". *Toto Millionaire* seems the more conscious of this "soul-locating" function of music in film narration.

RHYTHM AND EDITING

Rhythm refers to the flow of events in the plot, especially with regard to tempo and its fluctuation as well as temporal patterns of images and sound. This is mostly determined by editing, which in turn is determined by the length of shots and the kind of action they bear. The three films under study may be said to fall under the melodrama genre in a broad sort of way. The heterosexual romance in *Kikulacho*, the family drama of *Njohera* and the sentimentality of *Toto Millionaire* are all hallmarks of this genre, often marked by a sedate pace. We may therefore characterise the tempo of the three stories as such. On average, *Kikulacho*'s pace may be said to be quicker than *Njohera*'s, with *Toto Millionaire*'s falling somewhere in between, but they all fall within the same range.

The classical continuity style of editing is largely unviolated in the three films. Instances that could be deemed a violation, such as in scene two of *Toto Millionaire* where Toto is seen heading screen-right in one shot then screen-left in the next, can be explained away by the context (city streets can lead you one way then another) or circumstance (Toto is new in the city and trying to find his way about). Most shot-to-shot transitions are ordinary cuts that link complete units of action/dialogue. This means that shot length is determined to a large extent by action or dialogue length. For this reason, the fairly long single take dialogue scenes of *Njohera* gives it a comparatively slow pace that is well suited to its simple narration style. *Kikulacho*'s shots are fairly short, while *Toto Millionaire*'s prying and reflective narration makes the camera linger on a shot for a while. But it is in this last film that more sophisticated editing techniques are used. For instance, the match-on-action cut is utilised to take the viewer from a general view of things to details. An example of this occurs in scene four when Toto discovers the winning bottle-top. We see him pick it up in a medium shot before the camera zeros in on it in his hand and then on his hip region in close-up as he stuffs it away into his pocket. Scene transitions in the three films are also kept simple with fades, cross-fades and simple cuts being the most common. *Njohera* also avoids stylised transitions apart from an instance where a spin is used in a narratively significant way.

Wandahuhu's suffering on one scene (left) spins into Gacuma's grand property plans in the next (right)

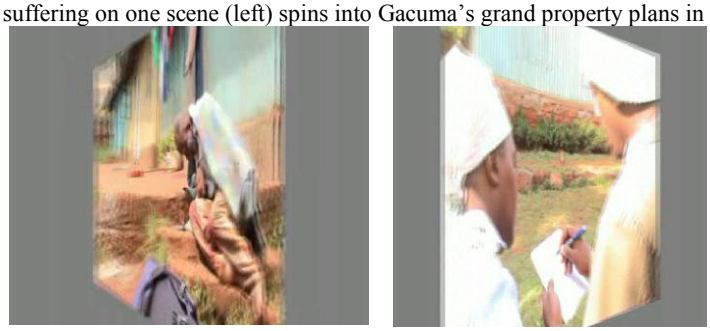


Figure 18: Stylised editing in *Njohera*

In this poignant transition, Wandahuhu's downturn in life is contrasted with Gacuma's upturn in a way that casts the former's mistakes into sharp perspective. A comparably stylised transition used in *Kikulacho* can hardly be said to serve any such purpose apart from

marking temporal and spatial changeover.

A stylised transition indicates passage of time (left) and space (right) in *Kilulacho*

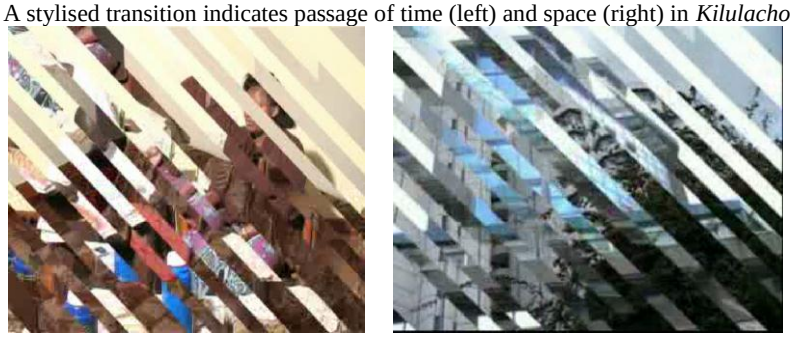


Figure 19: Stylised editing in *Kikulacho*

As mentioned earlier, *Kikulacho*'s use of transitional objects, cross-cutting, intercuts and montage, also adds to the vitality of its rhythm. So too does the use of sound bridge in several scenes where for instance the voice of a character is heard slightly ahead of his entry into a scene so that the visual is out of synch with the aural in a way that does not compromise the narrational integrity but in fact adds to its elegance. *Toto Millionaire* seems to avoid any such overt transitions in favour of the conventional cut and fade. However, its rhythm is adversely affected by its entry of several scenes too early and exit of them too late. The most jarring of this is the one at the live recording of the award ceremony mentioned earlier. The scene is allowed to run to ridiculous excesses where we see the post recording goings on as Philip looks at the diegetic television crew and grinning awkwardly, says:

> I…I think I've…I have finished (awkward pause). You have…you have taken enough pictures, now we are good. (faltering) Was it ok – the sound maybe? I don't know what people think. Was I being heard clearly? Eeh? (pause) I…we are now on air, isn't it? (cameraman nods) Yah! (laughs)

Philip addressing the diegetic television crew with Toto seemingly switched off after the live recording

Figure 20: Late scene exit in *Toto Millionaire*

If this is intended for comic effect, it not only falls flat, it also succeeds in unnecessarily disrupting the rhythm and pushing many a viewer right out of the story world in the way it stands out more as an editing error. Even the evidence of the diegetic camera mediation is absent as evident in the figure above. The film also abounds with early scene entries, frequently marked by perfunctory phone calls, characters whistling or time-filling dialogue that includes gibberish. For instance, when the taxi driver and later Toto come to Mamba bottlers to claim their prize, we arrive at the office several moments before the significant action, "compelling" Philip and his secretary (Rebecca) to "entertain" us with time-filling pretexts of romance that are not only unconvincing and perfunctory, but of no narrative consequence. They end up being feeble and incomplete illustrations of workplace romance as their words demonstrate in the following exchange that takes place before Toto's arrival:

Seated at her desk, Rebecca picks up a phone receiver as Philip approaches her from behind.

Philip: *Sasa* Rebecca

Rebecca: (to the phone, simultaneously) Yes, hallo!

Philip: Rebecca

Rebecca: (still to the phone, simultaneously) Umm…ok (continues talking on phone as Philip leans on the back of her seat) I'll… ok. Hey, just a moment (puts down the phone)

Philip: (straightening up and holding his hip self-consciously) Now, why didn't you hug me this morning?

Rebecca: (self-consciously) Oh, hallo! Hey Philip, you are really looking good in that shirt, eh?

Philip: Do you know I bought it on my trip to Germany.

Rebecca: Are you sure?

Philip: Yeah

designer, (bending to show her the design label on the inside of the shirt collar) Van Basten.

Rebecca: *Wewe!* Now that's why I say you are my man.

Philip: (overlapping) But why didn't you hug me?

Rebecca: (ill at ease) *Ai*, but why should I hug you? That's…that's…*ai,* surely

Philip: I thought it was because of yesterday. Anyway, I am expecting somebody,

Rebecca: Aha

Philip: Tell them I am not around, and… (gesturing towards his office shyly) you know…

Rebecca: (overlapping) Ok, *sawa*

Philip: …*si* you said you are coming over now.

Rebecca: I'll come over.

Philip heads back to his office as Toto enters the frame.

Philip and Rebecca having "romantic" moments in their office

Figure 21: Early scene entry in *Toto Millionaire*

STYLE

Consequent to the disparities so far observed, style in the three films is as diverse as their narration. While *Njohera* has a documentary quality about it, *Toto Millionaire* exhibits some art film element and *Kikulacho* is essentially melodramatic. *Njohera*'s documentary style comes out in its use of long outdoor shots using natural lighting that renders much of its other narrative elements natural. Little about it comes out as premeditated or stylised. The characters, their physical and psychological appearance, their actions and dialogue, the setting, the soundtrack and editing are kept as basic as possible. This sets a matter-of-fact tone about its whole rendition which suits its bucolic character in such a way as to tell us that "this is how the Kenyan rural folk look, talk, behave and live". Although it has several instances of unconvincing actions, its use of a medium that the actors are comfortable with (Gikuyu) somehow frees the actors to embody their character more comfortably and interact with ease.

Toto Millionaire on the other hand tends to go out of its way to deliberately design its content. From the scripted dialogue, through the trash-and-cans suburban setting and designed soundtrack to the hues that give its visuals a "burning" effect (symbolic of the severity of the characters' living conditions), this film speaks of deliberate selection of elements. It sets a sentimental melancholic tone with some light touch here and there to present both the tragedy and folly of static existentialism. Despite, and perhaps because of, its deliberate construction, this film has an artificial aura that makes it deliver less than it promises. Its dialogue is erratic (at some points studio pasted and unsynchronised with the image), its mise-en-scène, while well selected, is poorly staged (the village market is markedly deserted as is the Mamba Bottler's premise for such a "rich" company), some actions are knee-jerk and it raises a host of issues that are not satisfactorily treated.

Kikulacho's melodramatic style emanate from its content and rendition which is romantic in both senses of the word. The tragedy of frivolous life and vanity is presented with affected sophistication characterised by movement and activity that is essentially cyclic. The succession of ineffectual action and dialogue in exotic-looking settings by a string of loosely related characters all presented in a convoluted narrative strategy is symptomatic of the loss of purpose in today's Kenyan urban society and its preoccupation with the wishful and mundane as much as it constitutes a narrative approach that is pretentious and carefree.

On the whole, however, these films share elements of the different styles. Being family dramas for instance gives them all a quality of melodrama. Their visual style also contains a lot of documentary qualities. For instance, they are shot on location for the most part using

natural light. In addition *Toto Millionaire* incorporates many unstaged events, such as the views of the streets of suburban Nairobi with its characteristic hustle and bustle of people who are part of the scenery but not part of narrative action. Even *Kikulacho* seems to document Edwin's debauchery using an iterative documentary approach that Bordwell (2001) calls categorical in which "progression from segment to segment depends too much on repetition ('and here is another example…')" (Bordwell, 115). Bordwell goes further to state that the simple development of this form "risks boring the spectator" as "our expectations will be easily satisfied".

Conclusion

This paper has traversed with a broad stroke the essential elements that are central to classical film narrative, namely, causality, time and space, characterisation, narration (visual and aural) and style. It has clearly demonstrated that in manipulating these elements vis-à-vis classical film narrative conventions, Kenyan film makers exhibit skills that range from rudimentary to occasional flashes of brilliance with the common pattern lying somewhere between the two extremes. Unfortunately, the world of cinema favours brilliance and exactitude more than anything else. On the question of balance between visual images and dialogue in narration for instance, it has been noted that the films, especially *Njohera* and *Kikulacho*, rely more on dialogue. Comey (2002) puts it bluntly that "in film, when dialogue explains the story or the situation or feelings, it comes across as fake and boring" (Comey, 15). Comey represents the world viewer ship that this study is exhorting Kenyan film makers to strive for. If they are to reach it, a lot need to cut down not only on this over-reliance on dialogue, but also on what Comey calls mechanical indication or projection of sentiments rather than genuine emotional expressions that emanate from character interaction with each other and their situation. That said however, there remains the question about the purpose that the films serve within the unique Kenyan socio-cultural situation. It has emerged clearly in this analysis that Kenyan film makers, driven perhaps by the socio-cultural demands placed upon them by the society, make their narrative choices based more on illustrational than narrational considerations. A few instances will serve to illustrate this.

Firstly, in cinematography, the camera rarely penetrates individual or private spaces. This is a cultural attitude in many African societies where space is shared and individual space respected. Therefore the camera will almost always circumscribe the collective and where one individual is framed, it is in the context of his environment, a space that implies not only the absence of the others but an extension of the individual. That is why instead of the camera painting for us the very personal states of the characters, the characters express them outwardly by indication and loud acting. That is also why the close-up is such a rare technique in the film analysed here. The camera is here to tell a story illustratively; not to invade private space. For example, when Wandahuhu goes into bed with Nyakirata, the camera does not make it beyond the curtain that conceals that private space. This does not leave the viewer wondering what happened between the two when the narrative resumes in the next scene with a long leap in time.

Secondly, in choice of a soundscape, the Kenyan filmmakers as represented here prefer to go with the social and the familiar whether it be in terms of the selected musical tunes or sound effects. The songs used in *Kikulacho* and *Njohera* are common tunes that many

Kenyans can hum along. This familiarity and social identity with the intended audience informs the film maker's choices for the sound track, including everyday sounds like cockcrows, the radio, people at work, honking of cars, and the like. Where originality is attempted as in *Toto Millionaire,* the resultant composition has to strike a chord with the audience in terms of style (African percussive music, *genge,* reggae).

Thirdly, editing is kept as close to the natural social rhythm of things as possible. Africa is still a very oral society and much of her social action is dialogue-based. The editing as evident in our analysis here respects the conventions of this culture such as the turn-taking character of African discourse. It presents complete units of dialogue in one shot before moving to another complete unit of dialogue in the next shot. Simplicity rules, and is complemented by presentation of other elements of the mise-en-scène: lighting, setting, physical action and such. Even *Toto Millionaire'*s early and late scene entries and exits is in keeping with African social life. Africans take time – before 'attacking' an important matter – by means of circumspect action and are never in a hurry to leave an exciting event. That is a conception of time and its utility that the film maker brings into film narration.

All these factors among others not analysed in this paper give the *Riverwood* film its illustrational character and dictate its preference of a style that is most amenable to such choices. A melodrama that is receptive to theatrical and documentary elements seems to be the genre of choice for this industry. Whether this will lead it to the 'high table' of world cinema is something that remains to be seen, and a question for another paper.

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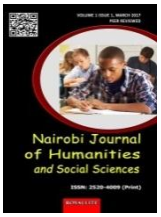

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An Exploratory Study of a Woman in Ekegusii through the Lens of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory

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ABSTRACT

It has been argued by linguists that language expresses a people's way of life; this paper examines a cultural-specific metaphor in Ekegusii, an African Bantu language in Kenya. A descriptive research design was used in the collection of the metaphors from the field whereby the native respondents were asked to identify and explain terms and phrases that describe a woman in Ekegusii, describe the social-cultural values and explain the mapping processes involved. The data were analyzed by identifying qualities in the donor domains and mapping them to the recipient domain using the Cognitive Metaphor Theory (CMT). It is clear from the results that in Ekegusii, a woman is perceived as an object, a plant, an animal or the appropriate behavior she exhibits based on the values such as immorality, selfishness, beauty, ugliness, harshness, talking a lot, age, and faithfulness, and also, a metaphor makes our thoughts clearer, richer with imagery, and, act as a conduit between human mind and culture.

KEY WORDS: Metaphor, Cognitive linguistics, Culture, Categorization, Woman Ekegusii.

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Introduction

This is a paper on how the Abagusii community in Kenya perceives a woman in view of the cognitive metaphor which is a major concern to cognitive linguists as they research on how language reflects how people perceive the world. According to Guthrie (1964), Ekegusii, whose speakers are called Abagusii, is labeled zone E42 narrow East African Bantu language group in Kenya. From their history, there was a clear division of work between males and females. Being a patriarchal and patrilineal society, women were segregated, and married off from their clans, and therefore, had no say in their marriages (Thomas, 1994). The Abagusii, just like other communities, are rich in culture. Gleason (1961) postulates that language and culture are closely related and that language is part of culture, consequently, it is used to maintain and convey culture and cultural ties. In this study, we present Ekegusii social-cultural metaphors illustrating how they are formed and interpreted. First, the previous research based on the Cognitive Metaphor Theory is discussed, followed by the methodology on how the metaphors were collected. The main part analyzes the data to illustrate various characteristics of Ekegusii woman metaphors and finally, we present the conclusion.

Theoretical background

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is accredited with the Cognitive Metaphor Theory (CMT), and later expounded by researchers within the field of cognitive linguists. They acknowledge the existence of metaphor as pervasive in everyday life, a tool for understanding, and that, it is a property of cognition. They argued further that in CMT, imagination is used to map and understand experiences using metaphors or metonymies on the basis of image schema with ontological correspondences between the domains (source or X and target or Y, where the latter is understood in terms of the former); at the level of language, entities, attributes and processes in the target domain are lexicalized using words and expressions from the source domain (Croft and Cruse, 2004; Lakoff and Johnson,1980,1991,1993, 1999 & 2003; Kövecses, 2002 &2005; Gibbs, 1994; Langacker, 1999; Grady, 1997; Evans and Green, 2006). Jakel, (2002: 20-42) has summarized the basic tenets of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor in the form of nine hypotheses as postulated by different cognitive linguists as ubiquity, domain, model, diachrony, unidirectionality, invariance, necessity, creativity and focusing. The nine will be applicable in this study.

In cognitive linguistics, many scholars argue that the metaphor is important in understanding the relationship shared by language, thought, and culture (Gibbs, 1994). Another scholar, Kevesces (2005), had questioned the universality of metaphors as early on suggested by Lakoff, he noted that the cultural context is important in interpreting metaphors. Ritchie (2013), in his book, *Metaphor;* identified and described the different types of metaphors and asserted that many primary metaphorical concepts are based on culture-specific experiences. This position had also been adopted by Lyons (1968:432), who contended that the language of a people is an important component of its culture and that vocabulary chosen by languages show culturally important features of their philosophy, objects, institutions, and activities in which the language operates.

Consequently, Maalej (2004) analyzed conceptual metaphors in Tunisian Arabic and showed how they are influenced by cultural beliefs and practices. He discussed several expressions dealing with emotions like anger and how it is expressed differently using Tunisian Arabic

culture-specific beliefs about physiology. His conclusion that it is important to include cultural practices in any account of conceptual metaphors will be observed in this study. Also, Azuma (2012) carried out a research on how English native speakers interpreted Japanese culture-bound metaphors and concluded that the differences in culture affect the interpretations of the metaphor

Early cognitive linguistics had identifiedstructural and orientational metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Other linguists, later, like Grady (1997), discussed further the different types of metaphors and expounded on the CMT by identifying and distinguishing between complex and primary metaphors, and introduced a "resemblance hypothesis". According to his model, he posited that there are image metaphors, called 'social-cultural metaphors' because the two domains are associated social- culturally. Using this metaphor, Takada, et al., (2006), carried out a research on how a Japanese woman is conceptualized. This paper will elaborate on the social-cultural metaphor model in Ekegusii, an African Bantu language.

Methodology

The paper adopted a qualitative research design. It sought to describe a phenomenon that occurs naturally without the intervention of an experiment or artificially contrived treatment (Seligar and Shohamy, 1989). This is a synchronic study because it describes the phenomenon as it exists at a particular point in time. The study population entailed Ekegusii informants proficient in the native language comprising adults of between 50 and 70 years of age, born and brought up in Kisii. They were chosen from the many using judgmental sampling techniques. Taking into account the variable of gender to avoid bias, the informants included 30 men and 30 women. This small sample was chosen in order to allow for in-depth investigation and analysis of data (Trudgill, 1973). The study utilized an interview schedule where the respondents were subjected to the same questions and grouped according to the variable of gender. The interview schedule had open-ended questions which permitted a greater depth of response which in turn gave an insight into the feelings, background, hidden motivation, intuitions, interests and decisions of the respondents (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999).

The researcher asked the respondents to name terms and phrases used to describe women and what the words meant. In addition, the researcher asked them to describe the cognitive processes associated with the words and phrases, and to further explain the literal and implied meanings that some of these processes elicited. They were further asked to name the contexts in which these alternative terms were used and the reasons for their usage. This study, therefore, utilized primary data in order to obtain detailed information about how leaders are described and then proceeded to establish patterns and relationships from the gathered information. The interview schedule was augmented by tape-recording which increased the level of accuracy without interfering with the process (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999).

The data obtained was presented in Ekegusii orthography and a translation to the nearest gloss in English provided. The recorded data was transcribed first and thereafter translated. Field notes written during the sessions were used to supplement the recorded data especially in cases where references to particular items were unclear. The transcribed data was edited in order to come up with a clean and organized copy to facilitate recall of

information. This was thereafter followed by translation of the copies from Ekegusii to English. The words and phrases that were collected were sorted out and classified into different categories by looking at the values that were related. A list of these categories was then compiled and patterns emerged. In addition, the mental pictures that the words and phrases showed were explained and the researcher proceeded to show how these words and phrases were viewed in the Ekegusii society. The social cultural values from the data on the interpretation processes were then mapped from the X to the domain and analyzed using the Cognitive Metaphor Theory.

Results and Discussion

In this section, we will examine metaphors in Ekegusii that conceptualize the woman as animals, plants, objects or a name corresponding with the character exhibited using the social-cultural metaphor model, and discuss how well it can explain the mapping process involved.

The data that was collected from 60 competent Ekegusii native respondents comprised 60 words describing how a woman is conceptualized. Basing on the CMT, the words were transcribed and translated into gloss English. A clear pattern was sort and then the metaphors were classified first to either positive or negative character traits, then later, into objects, plants, animals or character exhibited as source domains. Tables and pie charts were used to aid the presentation of the responses obtained. The figure that follows gives a summary of words describing a woman in Ekegusii as collected from the respondents.

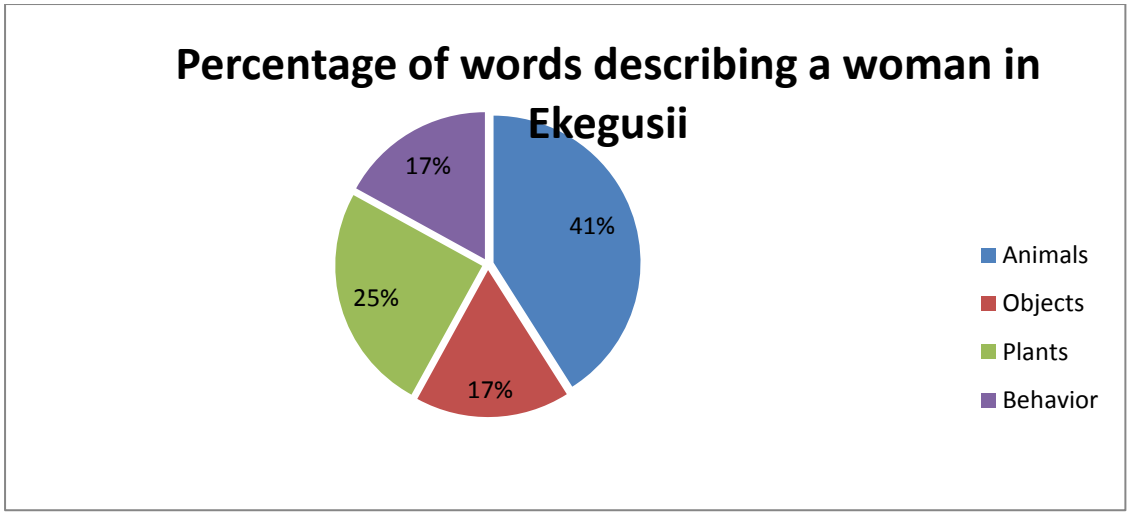


Fig. 1: Summary of woman metaphor in Ekegusii

Figure 1 shows that a total of 60 words describing a woman in Ekegusii were collected from the respondents. Basing on the CMT, the words were classified to animals, plants, objects or behavior exhibited by the woman. There were 25 names for animals, 15 for objects, 10, and for plants and behavior, representing 41%, 25%, and 17% respectively. (A full list of the words and meanings, see the appendix)

Traits mapped	Animals	Objects	Plants	Behavior	Total
Positive	3	5	4	3	15
Negative	22	10	6	7	45
	25	15	10	10	60

Table 1: Summary of the broad areas mapped and the domains

Table 1, above shows that most of the qualities given to a woman in Gusii land were negative; 45 metaphors representing 75 % were negative, and only 15 representing 25% were positive character traits. This, may be, could be explained by the fact that the community is patriarchal and women are treated lowly by men. The perception here is that men are better and more intelligent than women, which is not always the case.

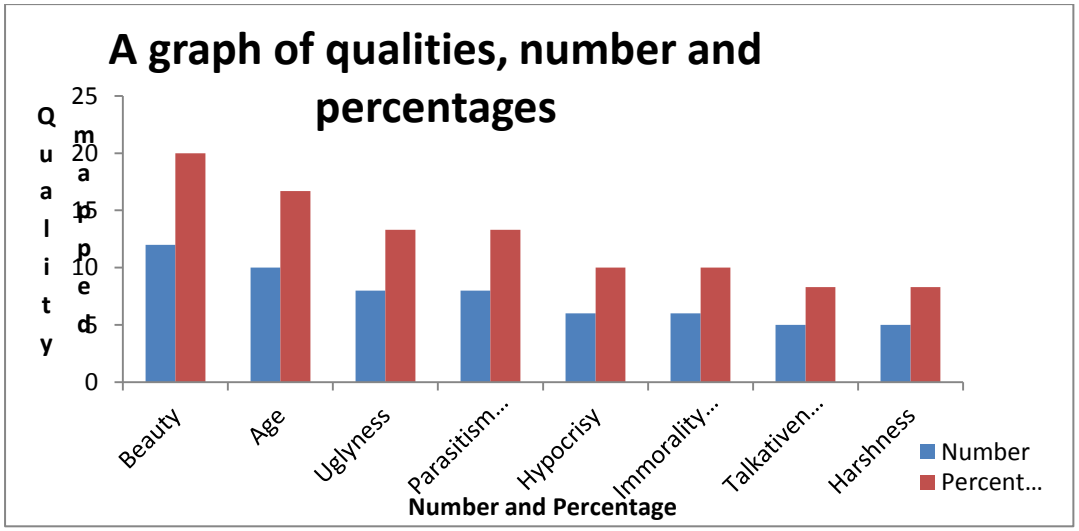
The research used a social- cultural metaphor model (Grady 1999) whereby, how Abagusii community understand and conceptualize a woman depended on the social-cultural setting. For instance, the Ekegusii metaphor "*omokungu ne embeche.*" This means that a woman is conceptualized as a warthog. In Gusii land, women are supposed to be beautiful in their own social-cultural weighing scales of "beauty". A warthog is an African wild pig with long front teeth that stick out of the side of its mouth. Warthogs are seen as very ugly animals. Here, ugliness, in the Gusii community context, is socially defined for human beings, and the warthog is determined as of the proto-typical category that possesses ugliness. Then, the donor concept "ugliness of a warthog" is mapped onto the recipient concept "ugliness of human being who is a woman." The reason behind this mapping is that the source and target domains share a similar value that is socially defined. This is in line with Kövecses (2005) who said that a metaphor is based on similarity and cross-domain correlations in our experiences. This model fits in this study because specific qualities of the source (objects, animals, plants or behavior) as understood and perceived in Ekegusii culture, are mapped onto the target (a woman).

It is understood that metaphors convey the images, feelings, customs, values and thought patterns found in our cultures Mittelberg (2007:34). In mapping within the animals, objects, and plants used for a woman, not all properties are mapped. The metaphor makes sense when only culturally accepted features for the animals, plants, objects or behavior exhibited are picked leaving out irrelevant traits, therefore, it is true that metaphors are selective because they highlight particular aspects of the source and the target while hiding others (Lakoff, 1993& Jackel, 2002).

Values Mapped

According to Lakoff and Johnson, the woman metaphor in Ekegusii could be analyzed as "A WOMAN IS AN ANIMAL, A WOMAN IS AN OBJECT, A WOMAN IS A PLANT or A WOMAN IS HER BEHAVIOR" basic conceptual metaphors. But we realized that this could not capture

adequately the values mapped as conceptualized by the community. By analyzing various kinds of animals, plants, objects or behavior exhibited in terms of their properties that are mapped or unmapped, we found a set of positive and negative properties that are crucial in woman metaphors in Ekegusii. The positive and negative traits could also be analyzed basing on the conceptual metaphors: POSITIVE IS UP and NEGATIVE IS DOWN or STRENGTH IS UP and WEAKNESS IS DOWN or (Lakoff and Johnson 1987). This could not have also captured the native speakers' conceptualization about their culture. The metaphors are formed based on physical appearance or feature of an animal, plant, object or behavior exhibited, and some of them are used because of those traits which folk models decide about them (Rouhi, 2011). Here, according to Ekegusii folk tales, for example, the animals, plants or objects are depicted behaving like human beings. In this way, they are shown with family relationships similar to humans. Such family members have duties spelt out. Outside, they have groupings with Leaders (kings or rulers) and even soldiers doing their duties. We used a social cultural model where the qualities mapped from the source domain to the target domain are social-culturally understood and interpreted (Grady 1997 and Takada et al., 2006). The following qualities were identified: beauty, ugliness, immorality and selfishness, talkativeness, parasitism, hypocrisy, fierceness, and age. The qualities acted as the source domain as extracted from the animals, objects, plants or behavior. Graph 1 gives a summary of these qualities, their number and percentages.



Graph1. Summary of specific qualities, their number and percentages mapped from the source domains

Graph 1 gives a summary of the qualities, number and percentages mapped from the donor to the recipient domains. There were 60 qualities representing 100%. They were compressed to 8 areas to avoid repetition. Beauty was the highest at 12 which is 12%, followed by age at10 representing 17%; ugliness and parasitism at 8 which is 13%; hypocrisy and immorality at 6 representing 10% and finally, talkativeness and harshness at 5 which around 8% in that descending order.

According to the respondents, the Abagusii view a woman as an adult female human. Ross (2001) describes a woman universally using the semantic primitives: + female, + mature and +- parent. The Abaugusii culture expects a woman to be socialized in a way that

is different from the man. Being a male dominated society, women are treated as inferior hence given names meant to perceive them as the weaker sex. Studies carried out by Okindo (1995) and Choti (1998) depict a woman as being positioned lower than a man in the *Gusii* society. This may explain the many negative traits a woman was given. In these studies carried out in *Ekegusii,* they attributed differences in men's and women's social ranks to social forces rather than biological ones. Men and women are different because the society offers different roles for them and expects different character patterns (Trudgill, 1973:88). This also explains the motivations behind the many names of a woman in Ekegusii.

The relative status of the sexes in Abagusii society may be reflected not only in the ways in which women and men use language, but also in the languages used by women and men. Gender, apart from being a biological construction, is an aspect of culture which assigns men and women certain roles that cause variation in lexical choice based on context. It should be noted that the positive qualities are the ideal; negative characteristics are meant to mock a woman who lacks the salient qualities of a good woman, different cultures view these qualities differently. This is in line with the position adopted by Lyons (1968:432) when he contends that:

> The language of a particular society is an integral part of its culture, and…the lexical distinctions drawn by each language will tend to reflect the culturally important features of objects, institutions, and activities in the society in which the language operates (Lyons, 1968:432).

We decided to group the traits that are almost the same together for easy analysis, discussion and to avoid repetition. However, it should be noted that not all animals, plants and objects collected from the field were discussed; we only present a few to illustrate the woman metaphor in Ekegusii. It should be noted that, considering the socio-cultural codes in Ekegusii, the majority of woman metaphors seem to be based on the perspective of men. Men seek in women certain properties. The discussion that follows gives a summary of the qualities mapped or unmapped from the source domain to the target domain.

(A) **BEAUTY**. Women are perceived as sweet fruits that are edible by men. It was realized that fruits that had the value of sweetness and yellowish in color when ripe, were mapped onto beautiful women who are human beings. This is a physical attribute. There is a common saying that beauty is in the eyes of the beholder. Animals perceived as having the quality of beauty were also mapped onto a beautiful woman. It should be noted that not all ripe yellowish fruits and beautiful animals were considered beautiful. Lakoff and Johnsons (1980), conceptual metaphor, A WOMAN IS FOOD, could not capture the whole process of the qualities mapped. There is Ekegusii social-cultural codes that assign these qualities to particular fruits and animals. What counts as beautiful or lovable, however, depends on how men evaluate these properties in women. Thus, this is also a kind of "social value" interpreted especially by men because it is a male-dominated society.

Ontological Correspondence

Source Domain	Target Domain
Sweetness and yellowish color of a ripe fruit	Beauty of a woman

Beauty and sweetness of an animal Beauty of a woman

In plants, the respondents called a woman the following fruits: *ensobosobo* meaning wild fruit; a type of sweet yellowish orange wild fruit. Another related name is *egesukari*, which is a type of sweet banana which is yellowish and very sweet when ripe. *Enyanya* is a tomato; plant with red or yellow pulpy edible fruit. The qualities mapped here are colour and sweetness. Some respondents also argued that the shape is also mapped, especially, the shape of a tomato to a shape of a woman. A beautiful woman, among the Abagusii, is perceived as yellowish which is the colour for being ripe and 'sweet'. Sweetness here, according to the respondents, is sexual enjoyment as viewed by men. This emphasizes the point that Abagusii are male Chauvinists who view women as sex objects. A woman given any of the three names is seen as beautiful, thus, admired by many.

The respondents identified *entuga*, a flying white ant; two winged edible flying ants rich in protein, as a carrier of beauty. The wings give the ant the outside beauty. The sweetness was linked to sexual enjoyment by men. This ant is perceived as beautiful by the Abagusii. *Nyaigoti chenge* is a hen;' a domesticated foul whose neck is not covered with feathers. This type of hen, according to Abagusii culture, is considered as very sweet when cooked. The bare neck gives the hen outside beauty. The outside beauty as perceived by the Kisii men and sweetness of this hen is mapped onto a beautiful woman. When the respondents were asked how they tasted the sweetness of women before having sex, they argued that sex is psychological and that if a woman is beautiful from outside then, she was considered sweet or sexy, a believe held by many men.

B) UGLINESS-This is another quality that featured among many respondents. It is the quality that is the opposite of beauty. This is a pejorative term meant to diminish a woman in Gusii male dominated society. According to the respondents, in this group, there was no plant. **Ugliness** is perceived as black

Ontological Correspondence

Source Domain	Target Domain
Blackness of an animal or object	Ugliness of a woman

A woman lacking the quality of beauty is mocked by being given the metaphorical names of animals or objects and their attributes which are considered negative and, therefore, perceived as ugly. Such a woman is conceptualized as *egekondo*, a monkey; a small black animal of the family of primates with a long tail, which uses its hands to climb trees and lives in hot countries. The respondents observed that this animal is considered ugly. *Enyakaruga* is cooking pot; large traditional earthenware for cooking ugali, and *enyang'ni* is a cooking pot; traditional earthenware pot for cooking vegetables. The two vessels are used for cooking; both of them are black due to soot. The black soot is synonymous with ugliness. This is ironical because most Africans are black. So, according to the respondents, a black woman is perceived as ugly by men. Such a woman was mocked in social gatherings by use of the above metaphors because she was disliked by many men and even shunned for marriage as Rouhi (2011), asserts that some of such metaphors provide amusement and shared pleasure in groups hence reinforcing social bonds.

C) IMMORALITY AND SELFISHNESS. These negative traits are mapped from animals perceived as amorous and selfish onto equally amorous and selfish women to mock them. As per the respondents, these traits are highly detested among the Abagusii culture. Some of these metaphors were meant to keep the woman forever subjugated, discourage prostitution and ensure male supremacy.

Ontological Correspondence:

Source Domain	Target Domain
Immorality and selfishness of an animal	Immorality and selfishness of a woman

A woman who is immoral and selfish was given names such as, *esese* this is a bitch. The Abagusii view dogs as immoral and selfish because of the way they behave during the mating season. Other cultures could be conceptualizing a dog as a faithful servant. *Engoko* is a hen; a common farm bird that is kept for its meat and eggs, fowl. A hen is known for its immorality because it can lie anywhere when it spots a cock. This value is mapped onto a woman who has loose morals. Such a woman was perceived as dangerous in the community, despised and ridiculed even by fellow women because she could easily snatch other women's husbands and cause embarrassment to the husband.

D) TOO MUCH TALKING. There is an Ekegusii social cultural code that prohibits a woman from talking too much. The respondents argued that women who talk too much are perceived negatively and despised by men. Thus, they were given names of animals with that quality to mock them.

Ontological Correspondence

Source Domain	Target Domain
Chirruping of a bird	Talkativeness of a woman
Movement of an object	Talkativeness of a woman

Ekebarabra is a fan or windmill or propeller; an object which rotates very fast. The strong the wind the more it rotates or moves. The rotating nonstop is mapped onto a woman who talks without breaks. Such a woman is viewed by the community as a trouble maker and foolish because it is believed that the bulky of what she speaks is lies, therefore, despised and hated by people. *Engoncho* is a parrot; a tropical bird with a curved beak and brightly colored feathers that can be taught to ape human speech. Most cultures associate too much talking to being a parrot. Women who talk too much are despised in the society and reprimanded by men. Such women were never trusted because they were foolish and never kept secrets. If not married, she risked not getting a husband which was a taboo according to the Ekegusii cultural totems.

E) PARASITISM. This is another quality that was mapped from animals onto women. This is living on somebody without giving any help or benefit in return. Culturally, women were supposed to be hard working and contribute to the feeding of the family and community; women looked after the homestead, worked in the fields, fed and raised the children as

men protected the family by herding cattle and going for wars. A woman who failed in her duties was perceived as lazy hence a parasite to the man.

Ontological Correspondence:

Source Domain	Target Domain
Parasitism of an animal	parasitism of a woman

The respondents identified *ekenyinyi*, leech; a small soft creature that fixes itself to the skin of animals in order to drink their blood. *Rigecha* or *engoa* is a kind of arachnid; a very small creature that lives on animals, sucking their blood. *Ritusia* is a tick; a very small animal like an insect that lives under the skin of other animals and sucks their blood. *Ensona* is a flea; a very small insect without wings that jumps and bites animals and people to eat their blood. The four are all parasites. The laziness, eating without working and idling of a woman as the man toils to provide for the family is mapped onto the sucking of blood by the parasite (woman) from the host (man). That quality is also mapped onto a woman who loves a man or gets married with an intention of sapping away or stealing his resources like a parasite not giving anything in return to supplement what the man does. According to the respondents, these terms were also meant to discourage laziness and prostitution as such a woman was disliked in the society.

F) HYPOCRISY. This is another negative trait that men assign women to diminish them in a male dominated society like Abagusii. Animals which hide as they destroy property are perceived as hypocrites. This value is mapped onto the hypocrisy of a woman.

Ontological Correspondence:

Source Domain	Target Domain
Destructive nature of an animal	Hypocrisy of a woman

The respondents identified *Embongi*, weevil; a small insect that feeds on grain, flour etc and spoils it. *Enguko* is mole; a small dark furry animal which is almost blind and which usually live under the ground and destroys tubers like sweet potatoes. *Risami* is pupa; life stage of some simple animals with stinging hair. This animal enters into your clothes stings you and by the time you feel the sting it is gone. All the three are destructive, they hide by the time one realizes, they have destroyed a lot of things. This quality was perceived by the respondents as hypocrisy and therefore, mapped onto the hypocrisy of a woman.

H) HARSHNESS. The fierceness of animals and bitterness of parts of plants were mapped onto women perceived as harsh and no nonsense types. These terms were used for women who protected their families, especially the husband and children from evil and trouble shooters in the community. This quality, according to the respondents, can also be given to men.

Ontological Correspondence

Source Domain	Target Domain
Fierceness of an animal	Harshness of a woman
Bitterness of a plant	Harshness of a woman

The respondents posited that harshness is another key quality of a woman. This trait mapped from the following animals as the source domain to the woman as the target domain: e*nchoke* and *ekiarambe*, is a bee and wasp respectively. The two insects are known to be peaceful but when provoked they are very aggressive in fighting back with stings. This quality is mapped onto a woman who is friendly and humble in her territory but loathes the intruders. A bee has other qualities like cooperation and hardworking but the respondents felt that they are overshadowed by fierceness. Some respondents argued that the qualities mapped could depend on the occasion and attitude of the speaker towards a particular woman. Such a woman is also referred to as *obosaro*; a bitter concoction of ash made from different herbs used for treatment of different ailments. The Abagusii believed that to cure any ailment, the medicine must be extremely bitter. This is a harsh but hard working woman treasured by the husband and even neighbors in defending her family aggressively.

I) AGE. A woman behaving badly was seen as immature. If she behaved well, she was perceived as elderly, full of wisdom, and mature. She attracted a particular name corresponding with the behavior exhibited.

Ontological Correspondence

Source Domain	Target Domain
Good/ Bad behavior of a woman	Age of a woman

A woman behaving badly was given names such as *egesagane* or *omwana*, meaning a young, uncircumcised girl or a child, respectively According to Abagusii culture, women underwent critoridectomy, a primitive practice that has been discouraged all over the world, though, still practiced by some people in the community and few other tribes in Kenya. This was a rite of passage to adulthood. The names suggested that the woman is unfaithful and immature hence not fit for marriage. A woman who did not meet the expectation of a woman as per the Abagusii definition because of her bad or weird behavior was given names such as *ebarimo*, *richambasi*, and *richara,* meaning mad, thug and foolish, respectively. Such a woman was seen as immature and not fit for marriage. A woman who behaved well as per the societal expectations was perceived as mature and was given names such as *omosubati* or *omongina*, meaning a faithful well behaved woman or a clever elderly woman full of wisdom worthy being a model to the younger women, respectively. To sum up, it is good to note that a particular behavior attracted a particular name either to imply maturity or immaturity depending on what the society prescribed to.

Conclusion

In this study, we have expounded on the resemblance metaphor where the source and target domains are socio-culturally determined (Grady, 1999). In the light of the present research, it is true that metaphors are plenty in Ekegusii and form networks by which we conceptualize a woman in concrete terms, that is, as objects, plants, animals or a name representing a behavior exhibited basing on qualities such as beauty, ugliness, harshness, talking too much, wisdom, hypocrisy, age, and unfaithfulness. It was also found out that context, the attitude of a speaker and cultural knowledge play a major in interpreting and understanding Ekegusii woman metaphors. Consequently, it was found out that being a

male dominated society, a woman attracted more negative metaphors than the positive.

We can also conclude that metaphor spice up communication, stretch imagination, and create an imaginative reality to give an insight into everyday experience (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Finally, we suggest more studies of social-cultural metaphors in other languages to enable a comparative study to determine how similar or different Ekegusii cognitive linguistics is to other Bantu languages and other languages in general.

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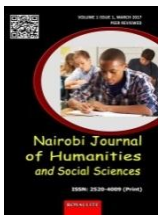
APPENDIX

Metaphors and their gloss in meaning	Metaphors and their gloss in meaning
Ekebarabara- (Van). A very talkative woman often a liar **Embeche-(Warthog) An ugly woman often a liar** **Egekondo-(monkey) Ugly woman often a liar** **Engoncho-(parrot) A very talkative woman often a liar** **Amarora- (bitter herbs) a very harsh woman** **Rigecha-(tick). Parasitic woman** **Ensobosobo-(gooseberry) A beautiful woman** **Engoko-(hen) A loose woman morally** **Egetanga-(banana plantain) A very productive woman** **Enguko-(mole)Woman who meddles in other peoples affairs** **Ensona-(flea) parasitic woman** **Enchoke-(bee) Hard working woman** **Ensombiro-(ant) Great talker often lying** **Ekenyinyi-(leech)Parasitic woman** **Risami(larvae stage of a butterfly) trouble shooter** **Egesukari-(sweet banana) beautiful woman** **Embongi- (weevil) trouble shooter** **Egesagane(uncirmcised) child** **Engombe-(cow)foolish** **Ogasusu-(hare) bright**	Ekiarambe-(wasp) Harsh woman Obosaro-(medicinal bitter ash) Harsh woman Rigecha-(type of arachnid) Parasitic woman Enyangeni-(vegetable cooking pot) ugly woman Ensoti-(Vulture) Selfish woman Ekebunga baiseke-(sweet smelling plant) pretty woman Ekegwankwa-(butterfly) pretty woman Ensuri-(bedbug) parasitic woman Risakwe- (maize stalk) lazy woman Omoneke (weak tree) lazy woman Omongina-(behavior) a wise and well behaved elderly woman Omosubati-(behavior) respectable lady Richambasi-(behavior) thug Ebarimo-(behavior) mad woman Richara-(behavior) foolish woman Omwana-(behavior) immature woman Egesagane-(behavior) immature woman Enyanya-(tomato) beautiful woman Enyakoruga-(cooking pot) ugly woman Esese-(dog) loose woman morally Nyaigotichenge(type of hen) beautiful woman Ekerecha-(Evil spirit)hypocrite



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How Private Memory Intersects With and Informs Public History in Selected Works of Abdulrazak Gurnah

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores how Private Memory intersects with the Public History of the Zanzibari Arab Community and employs the tropes of: Reverse Chronology and History as a way of using Fiction to represent and contextualize how they inform the discourse of identity formations and/or constructions of the Zanzibari Arab Community, especially in relation to the trauma that accompanies the latter's migration. It is important to mention that the identities of the diasporic Zanzibari Arabs has suffered from the disruptions caused by colonialism and the coming of independence, both of which have left individual members of this community, as well as its entirety, with a traumatized memory of who they are.

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From Private Memory to Public History

This section begins with a definition of what private memory and public history are, then proceeds to discuss how it informs public history. We argue that Private memory as having a way of subverting the already written history that has been transmitted as 'a record of truth'. However, there are other critics who have given different interpretations. For instance, de Certeau (1984) defines private memory as involving those acts of memory that are introduced into the ordered space of the present other times and other forms of know-how. Johnson (1982), on the other hand, argues that private memory is instrumental in installing a mobile sense of post-colonial identity. In their view, the present can only acquire its meaning with reference to the disjointed and conflicted narratives of the past in which references to official narratives about colonization and a historical memory are tangled up with personal memories and private recollections of past experience.

According to Foucault (1980), memory has a demystifying effect that works in a number of ways For example, it can be treated as a counter-hegemonic chronicle in which an imagined 'other's' history is narrated, therefore destabilizing dominant histories (Foucault, 1980). He further argues that ethnic literature, in particular, often re-inscribes memory as history. For Foucault (1980), there is a way in which personal memory shapes and is woven into group memory [public history] through what is selected. In Foucault's (1980) opinion, memory, despite its attendant problems, is often construed as a basis for an authentic self that can be liberated from the silence and suppression brought upon it by history.

In this paper, therefore, private memory is taken to mean those recollections of one's past that counter the already presented views or ideas about a specific event or occurrence. Private memory works by subverting certain 'false' generalizations that have been regarded as the 'official' history and are manifested in the use of figures and metaphors that transcend the boundaries of fact. This is because memory sediments together the narratives of the various characters' deeds, encounters and recollections and, in the process, redirects the chronology and flow of history. It is through the private recollections of the characters that we are introduced to the traumas that trigger this community's adventures.

This paper's definition of private memory is in tandem with what Le Goff (1992) says about memory: "Memory vies with, and undermines the linearity of conventional history" (p. xx). The researcher's analysis of selected works of Gurnah's fiction reveal that characters subvert the already known 'history' of the Zanzibari Arabs and what they recollect about their pasts becomes fodder for discourse that legitimizes and informs how the political, social and cultural factors contributed to their diasporic identities. This is further affirmed by Woods' (2007) assertion that memory and history form part of a literary politics of identity which plays dynamically upon a palimpsestual tension. Simatei (2001), on the other hand, argues that "Personal histories, reclaimed through memory, are juxtaposed with the contemporary, reminding us that …remembering is something done now not then" (pp. 393-97).

This paper, borrows Redfield's (1985) definition as a basis for understanding what public history is by arguing that it is:

> …how various versions of the past are communicated in society through a multiplicity of institutions and media, including schools, government ceremonies, popular amusements, art and literary stories told by families and friends and landscape features designated as historical, either by government or by popular practice" (p. 324).

I define public history as the many different ways in which societies think about their pasts and how these pasts get institutionalized and disseminated to a public audience. It is only through public history that communities are able to dialogue in order to ensure that the various voices that bear recollections of various ideas about the relations of their past and future are heard.

An analysis of Gurnah's novelistic imaginaries reveal how the characters' recollections of past occurrences serve as a spring board for the re-writing of a different version of history of the Zanzibari Arab community. One realizes that the already normalized status of the Arab as 'slave traders' whose interest was to exploit their African hosts, and later subjects, for the sake of profit is subverted in the way we perceive them in these texts. I read a humane side to this community that is capable of failure, love and even marrying their African hosts/subjects. This is given credence by Le Cour (1989) who argues that, "Islam legitimized the practice of slavery that relied more on the consent of the slave than on the coercion by the master" (p. 93-94). This paper also found that that the slavery to which the Zanzibari Africans got subjected, in some instances, had something to do with their inability to honour the debts they owed their Arab creditors and, in part, the African subjects were to blame for their own enslavement.

In one way or the other, Gurnah attempts to voice a re-envisioned version of history that not only paradoxically sanitizes the coming into being of slavery in East Africa but, at the same time, does not legitimize the practice of slave trade. According to Basil (1980),

> "The concept of domestic slavery is sanctioned by the writings of the prophet and by the law of Islam" (p. 20).

I argue that Gurnah has used these narratives to subvert the 'history' already written down by the European scholars who voice an imperialist version of the history of this community in order to offer us alternative possibilities beyond the historical representations offered to the public readership. For the characters in Gurnah's fiction, the remembrance of their past and present situations of victimhood substantiates the trauma that accompanies their identity as a diasporic community and a reading of these narratives reveals that the recollections of the characters offer alternative ways of dealing with the pains and pleasures that accompany memory.

In order to subvert the generalizations offered by what could be regarded as the 'official' history, Gurnah employs specific narrative strategies that include reverse chronology of history and selective amnesia, as well silences, to enable us glean an understanding of how the recollections of individual characters influence what becomes the public history of the diasporic Zanzibari Arab community. These narrative strategies are realized in the way characters deal with their pasts, rather than revolt against it, and, as such, we are able to 'unpack' the various ways in which the working of memory and history

inform the trauma associated with adventure. Secondly, these narrative strategies enable us to comprehend how particular events inform and re-inscribe memory as history (Palumbo-Liu, 1996)

The deployment of reverse chronology and its influence on public history

Reverse chronology is a narrative strategy in which the temporal order of the narrative begins in the present and moves to the past so that the narration of events is inverted and the causal explanation of the events move from effect to cause (Young, 1995). It derives its strength from its capacity to stimulate the recall of fragments of past memory while characters are able to "move from the familiar present back to the forgotten past with the aid of the logical causal explanation" (Ortner, 1990, p. 342). It works by enabling characters to accept the inevitability of their situation as a people burdened with the responsibility of carrying the historical memory and maladjusted identity, which later helps them undergo a process of self -liberation and healing.

This strategy catalyzes memory retrieval by allowing characters to narrate and revisit their distant pasts. In essence, it acts as a bridge between the various separate incidences, which had remained silenced and repressed in the memories of this community and which, if pieced together, will have a bearing on their present. Thus, the reverse chronology of events, in my view, forms an organizing frame for the reconstruction of narrative "by piecing together what is known and unknown" (Muller, 1995, p. 323).As a narrative strategy, it forms a converging point in the narratives of the many characters who are all perpetrators and/or victims and/or products of the said diasporic experiences.

FICTIONAL REPRESENTATION OF REVERSE CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY

The texts analysed speak to the complexity of migration within East Africa and to Britain by the Zanzibari Arabs and yet, they glosses over their reasons for not going back to Oman in Arabia. This paradox motivated the attempt to unravel the reasons that triggered the trauma accompanying their adventurous journeying. The narratives in these texts have an aspect of being retold. By using reverse chronology as a strategy, will provide insights into the multivalent ways through which the author reorganizes the Zanzibari Arabs' history without obliterating the accompanying social injustices that it conveys.

This strategy uses the history of the Omani Arabs' occupation of Zanzibar as a basis for rendering the past. It is worth noting that a major part of the history of how the Arab community came into the East African coast is re-narrated and Saleh Omar in By the Sea (Gurnah, 2001) uses the ud-al-qamari as a pivot around which he weaves together the trading exploits of his family in the Indian Ocean world. Only when Kelvin Edelman takes the casket away do we realize the history of the extent and nature of the diasporic trading adventure of the Omani Arabs:

> The man I obtained the ud-al qamari from was a Persian traderfrom Bahrain who hadcome to our part of the world with themusim, the winds of the monsoons, he and thousands of othertraders from Arabia, the Gulf, India and Sind and theHorn of Africa. They had been doing this every year for at least athousand years. (Gurnah, 2001, p. 14)

From his family's trading adventure, which is a microcosm of the wider Omani Arab

community, we learn that they travelled as far as Bangkok in the year before the war in 1904 and this is still directing the lives of this Arab community in the twentieth century (1960s).

Gurnah disagrees with the version of history that the only mode of trade for the Omani Arabs was slavery and slave trade and, instead, argues that, even before the advent of slavery, the Omani Arabs traded in merchandise such as ud-al-quamari and even exchanged goods and services on credit. In By the Sea (Gurnah, 2001), the author is able to refute the version of history as captured by Randall (1978) who argues that the Omani Arab merchants who were involved in East African activities were mainly motivated by slave trade.

This is central to the deconstruction of history because the texts speak to the paradox that both Islam as a religion and the culture of the Omani Arabs sanctioned slavery but the mode of enslavement was consensual rather than coercive (Cooper, 1977).Cooper (1977) argues that the Arab slave owners lacked the coercive potential and had to combine punishment and rewards in different ways and made less demands on the slaves. Gurnah, however, does not buy this idea of consensual slave/master relationship.

According to Gurnah, the East African coast served as a point of cultural and religious contact and dispersion and tends to project a forceful capture and eviction of persons for the sake of exploitation of their human capital as slaves in Arabia:

> For centuries, intrepid traders and sailors, most of them barbarous and poor no doubt, made the annual journey to the stretch of the coast on the eastern side of the country…They brought with them their goods and their God and the way of looking at the world… And they brought their hungers and greeds, their fantasies and lies and hatreds, taking what they could buy, trade or snatch away, including people they bought or kidnapped and sold into labour and degradation in their own lands. (Gurnah, 2001, p. 15)

Gurnah also seems to argue that the Arab traders negotiated and offered loans to their African counterparts for them to engage in trade and had to give ransoms as security for their money, hence the resultant enslavement of their debtors' kin. In Paradise (Gurnah, 1994), we are introduced to the lives of Khalil, Yusuf and Mzee Hamdani whose narratives about their distant pasts have all along been shrouded in silences and who are domestic slaves in Seyyid Aziz's household. For Khalil, his present situation one of helplessness and is blamed on Seyyid Aziz and his father, who, he argues, had "…taken everything else from me. If it was not they who made me into the useless coward you see here, then who did?" (Gurnah, 1994, p. 232). Khalil, the older narrator, informs Yusuf that the reasons for his being brought into the household of Seyyid Aziz is because, like Khalil, his father owed Seyyid Aziz a lot of money and that they would not leave until they had successfully paid for their parents' debts.

Yusuf fails to understand why his 'uncle' subjects him to a torturous life where he sleeps outside his 'uncle's' shop at night (Gurnah, 1994, p. 23) and is subjected to heavy labour (p. 69); he is made aware
of his unique identity as a slave to Seyyid Aziz. All the while, he had known Seyyid Aziz as his uncle:

> "You're here because your Ba owes the Seyyid money. I'm here because my Ba owes the Seyyid money … Your Ba must be a bad businessman …" Yusuf did not understand all the details, but he could not see that it was wrong to work for Uncle Aziz in order to pay off his father's debt. When he had paid it all off he could then go home. (Gurnah, 1994, p. 24)

It is from the afore-mentioned explanation that Yusuf is able to make a causal connection between what Khalil, his fellow slave and shop attendant, had told him about their status as 'pawned-out' slaves (Gurnah,1994, p. 22) and the reason why he should stop calling Seyyid Aziz 'uncle'. The cases of Khalil and Yusuf present another view of slavery that is unique but is in tandem with what Wright (1993) says about the financing of the Indian Ocean trade:"Credit for the trade was advanced for untypically long periods and that the link between creditors and debtors was often reinforced over generations by marriage and the choice of god parents

> … This form of slavery becomes, for them, the more general circumstance that enables each one of them to travel back in memory to recollect the fragments of their past" (p. 248).

While Khalil and Yusuf were ransoms for unpaid loans owed by their families, Mzee Hamdani's case is peculiar because he was a ransom for a debt that his poor family had not paid to Zulehka's father (Gurnah, 1994, p. 222) and is, therefore, a gift slave to the Seyyid's wife.

Mzee Hamdani's status of being a gift slave is within the provisions of a decree signed by Seyyid Ali bin Said in 1890 which outlawed the exchange and sale of slaves but still allowed the inheriting of slaves by the lawful children of slave owners (Basil, 1990, p. 28). Mzee Hamdani uses his present status of servitude to give Yusuf a causal explanation of why he no longer values his freedom:

> "They offered me freedom as a gift … who told her she had it to offer? I know the freedom you are talking about. I had that freedom the moment I was born. When these people say you belong to me, I own you; it is like the passing of the rain, or the setting of the sun at the end of the day. The following morning the sun will rise again whether they like it or not. The same with freedom. They can lock you up, put you in chains, abuse all your small longings, but freedom is not something they can take away. When they have finished with you, they are still as far away from owning you as they were on the day you were born." (Gurnah, 1994, pp. 223-4)

For Mzee Hamdani, too much humiliation (as a gift slave) traumatized him into a dissident. He realizes that the question of slavery and freedom are relative and that freedom could be had for the asking but his value as a human being could not be fully compensated by being set free from his former master because he is a spent force and has to hold on to the 'comfort' and security offered by his former master. The example of Mzee Hamdani validates Gurnah's contestation that, despite the historical presentation of the British abolition of slave trade, the reality is that Arab slave owners had an upper hand on matters

appertaining to the treatment of current slaves and/or former slaves. Hence, Gurnah's view diverges and strongly contests the truth around the abolition of slavery and the slave trade.

The presence of Amina in Seyyid Aziz's household is yet another version of slavery. Though she was brought in as a ransom, Amina's slavery can be understood in terms of her gender role. She becomes a 'gift' slave whose future role as a source of 'pleasure' to the slave owner is non-negotiable and has no moral questioning associated with it. She has recently been turned into the Seyyid's younger 'wife' and this echoes with what Basil(1909) says about the 1897 Decree signed by Seyyid Hamid bin Mahomed declaring:

> "…all slaves could obtain their freedom, except for the women who were concubines, and/or younger wives and were regarded as inmates of the harem" (p. 20).

The politics of slave trade that, in one way or the other, defined the Omani Arabs' interaction with Zanzibar, and East Africa in general, is blamed partly on the Africans who were willing sellers and, partly, on the Arabs who were willing buyers:

> You'll be thinking: how did so many of these Arabs come to be here in such a short time? When they started to come here, buying slaves from these parts was like picking fruits off a tree. They didn't even have to capture their victims themselves, although some of them did so for the pleasure of it. There were enough people eager to sell their cousins and neighbours for trinkets. And the markets were open everywhere, down in the south and on the ocean islands where the Europeans were farming for sugar, in Arabia and Persia, and on the sultan's new clove plantations in Zanzibar. (Gurnah, 1994, pp. 131-132)

From this excerpt, we see that Gurnah refutes the assumption that the British came to East Africa in order to help end the slave trade. For Gurnah, as well as Mwulia (1975), Britain conspired with the Zanzibari Arab slave traders against the Africans. In fact, Britain depended on the African slaves to work on their sugar plantations.

Hence, Britain was hypocritical and selfish in the way she championed against slavery and slave trade. This hypocritical stance by the British encouraged the Arab traders to adventure into the East African interior and gave impetus to the trading adventures of Yusuf and Seyyid Aziz.

We get to understand that other than engaging in slave trade, the Arabs also traded in ivory and other goods as demonstrated in the household of Hamid Suleiman. It also provides a site for the reader to understand how the communal context of group memory of slavery works through fiction and informs trauma that has accompanied the present circumstances of this community as a diasporic people. Yusuf gets to understand that Seyyid Aziz is an astute trader who takes advantage of the hospitality of their African hosts to engage in the sale of counterfeit goods to the Africans in the interior:

> He was full of smiles and groans of admiration as he supervised the stowage of the goods. The sacks of corn which Uncle Aziz had acquired at a give-away price were to be left with Hamid, but the gum, ivory and gold were to travel on the train to the

coast. (Gurnah, 1994, p. 91)

In Gurnah's By The Sea (2001), the role of the British in ending the Arab business domination in the Indian Ocean worlds is told in a reverse order. Saleh Omar narrates to Latif Mahmud from the comfort of his house in Britain that "Jafar Musa, his grandfather (Saleh Omar's), who was a merchant of no mean repute, owned a shipping liner that traded and spread Islam in Malaya, India and China" (Gurnah, 2001, p. 23). For Saleh Omar, their trading can be traced back to 1904, during which time his grandfather was exploring new markets in Bangkok but, later, Jafar Musa became the embodiment of the loss that the Omani Arabs suffer when they allowed the British to run their business affairs:

> For years he [Reza] had fretted at his father's subterfuge of having Europeans appear to be running his business, at the high-handed disregard with which he thought these employees were treating both his father and him…They should dispense with the arrogant dogs and employ Malays and Indians and Arabs and then do as cut-throat trade as they could…These are not village sultans we are talking about, but the rulers of the world. He cajoled him, talked to him about the hard-headed realities of their circumstances…In the year 1899 Jaafar Musa suffered a stroke. (Gurnah, 2001, p. 25)

Using the metaphor of the death of Jaafar Musa to represent the end of the Omani Arab dominance of the Indian Ocean trade, we learn that the trading empire of the Omani Arabs collapses because of the mismanagement of their trade by the British; a way of forcefully disabling the economic strength of the Omani Arabs in order to subjugate them.

Thus Gurnah concurs with Alpers (1975) who argues that the mercantile community of the Zanzibari Arabs provided impetus for Zanzibar to experience economic, social and political transformation. However, Gurnah contests the notions propounded by Alpers (1975) by showing that the mercantile community, whose trade thrived many centuries before the coming of colonialism, was not defined just by slavery and slave trade; it was also defined in other forms of trade in goods and services and used their trading exploits as an avenue for the spread of Islam as narrated using the strategy of reverse chronology. Gurnah, however, agrees with Alpers (1975) on the fact that the coming of colonialism resulted in dwindling fortunes and, thus, they had to find ways of adjusting to these changes.

Desertion (Gurnah, 2005) contests the version of history as presented by Pratt (1992), disputing the assertion that the trade that the Omani Arab community engaged had manifold and profound social, economic and cultural implications because it offered itself as a frontier for a cultural clash that resulted in the spread of Islam into East Africa via Zanzibar and the opening up of the East African world for colonialism. Instead, the reverse occurs when Tinkle-Smith, a British farm manager, is hired by the Sultan of Zanzibar:

> … He (The sultan), whichever one it was, looked to benefit from British methods and science, and so asked the company … to send one of its managers to run the plantations here. A bad mistake. The company sent a gentleman called Tinkle-Smith…which immediately freed all the slaves on the plantation and then re-employed as manyas were willing as waged labour…This set the slaves on the other

> plantations off, and most of them ran away, not wanting to work at all…By this time even the slaves knew that the Sultan's theoretical sovereignty was only ten miles deep…So all they had to do was bolt ten miles into the interior and they were safe…The result…impoverished Arabs. (Gurnah, 2005, p. 46)

This ensured that the economic power of the Omani Arabs that was derived from clove farming was disrupted and, hence, British colonialism thrived. In Paradise(Gurnah, 1994), the forceful ending of the Omani Arab dominance in trade in the interior of East Africa by the Germans is narrated to Yusuf by Seyyid Aziz as follows. At this point, Gurnah's representation of fiction aligns with what Akinola (1972) says about the ending of the Arab dominance in East Africa: "

> … from 1884, the Sultanate of Zanzibar was experiencing pressure from the European imperialists and this resulted in the partitioning of the coastal territories of the sultanate between Germany and Britain" (p. 216):
>
> …When the German Amir Pasha came to these parts, he went to see the sultan of Tayari … Amir Pasha treated the sultan with utter contempt, deliberately, to provoke him to war. This was their method. He demanded that the sultan fly the flag of the Germans, that he swear loyalty to the German sultan and that he hand over all the arms and cannon he possessed, because he was sure to have stolen them from the Germans in the first place. The sultan of Tayari did everything he could to avoid a fight…The sultan of Tayari flew the flag of the German sultan and sent gifts and food to the camp of Amir Pasha…After Amir Pasha came Prinzi, the German commander, and he made war at once and killed the sultan and his children…He placed the Arabs under his heel at first and then chased them away. The foreigner ground them down so thoroughly that they could not even force their slaves to work on their farms any more. The slaves just hid or ran away. The Arabs were left without food or comforts and had no choice but to leave. (Gurnah, 1994, pp. 132-3)

Based on the aforementioned explanations, the researcher argued that the use of reverse chronology works by challenging the single history of the role of the Indian Ocean trade and the effect of colonialism on the East African world (Zanzibar) by presenting an alternative but contesting voice on the impact of the Arabs in the victimization as well as empowerment of the African subjects.

Gurnah's fiction contests the view that the Zanzibari Africans had no control over their Arab oppressors. This is captured in Paradise (Gurnah, 1994) ,where the Sultan of Mkalikali informs Seyyid Aziz that the German authorities had warned them against accepting gifts from the Arab merchants. In this context, power and authority begins to form a constellation around the German colonialists at the expense of the Arabs but even with the end of Arab dominance and the coming of colonialism, the advent of independence had its share of challenges for the Zanzibari Arab community.

Through reverse chronology, we learn that as much as the Arabs and the African citizens of Zanzibar had lived in mutual peace, the coming of independence brought to the fore the long-repressed ethnic hatred harboured over a long time against the Arab

community. This is in agreement with what Lofchie (1965) says about the 1964 revolution in Zanzibar, arguing that the overthrowing of the Arab-led government by the African majority resulted in the massacre and expulsion of the Arabs and the nationalization and redistribution of resources. These opened up socio-political fissures that manifested in greed for political power and control by the Zanzibari African elites resulting in the expulsion of the Arabs, ethnic hate, and self-aggrandizement by the ruling elite as spoken about by the unnamed narrator in Gurnah's Admiring Silence (1996):

> There was hardly time to get used to the flag before the uprising, a matter of weeks. All the lurid promises of an accounting suddenly came true: murder, expulsion, detention, rape, you name it. The bits of paper with their protection clauses and their defence agreements and their assurances on pensions and other civilized paraphernalia were as quickly forgotten as the anthem and the flag. Instead, the radio blared mocking, gloating speeches, issuing detailed prohibition after detailed prohibition-like demented bully:six-o'clock curfew until further notice, public gatherings of more than three people are illegal, all land is nationalized. Gangsters roamed the streets with gleaming guns they had liberated from the riot-police arsenal, plundering where they chose, demanding a display of timid submission from everyone … (p. 69)

Reverse chronology of history, in this context, has been used to enlighten the reader about the 'erased' bit of the political happenings that led to the change of political governance in Zanzibar. Records of history about the magnitude and manifestations of this political unrest are not captured. For example, Mrina and Mattoke (1996), discussing the revolution, capture the situation in post-revolution Zanzibar that was characterized by recurrences of political unrest and a persistence of deep political divisions. For the narrator, every citizen, be it Arab or African, was disenfranchised by the many coups.

> They wanted to glory in grievance, in promises of vengeance, in the past oppression, in their present poverty and in the nobility of their darker skins. To the nationalist rhetoric of their opponents they proclaimed a satirical reprise of their despised 'Africanness', mocked the nationalists for their new-found conscience, and promised them an accounting in the very near future. All of which came to pass with incredible promptness. (Gurnah, 1996, p. 67)

In Gurnah's By The Sea (2001), the history of ethnic hatred that resulted in the persecution of the Arab citizens of Zanzibar saw a number of them seek asylum in Britain because they feared for their lives, as is the case with Saleh Omar:

> …our government … rigged an election, falsifying the figures in front of international observers, whereas before it had gaoled, raped, killed or otherwise degraded its citizens. For this delinquent behavior, the British government granted asylum to anyone who claimed their lives were in danger. (p. 10)

We are also introduced to the acts of revenge against the Arab community: A community that is accused of enjoying the privileges of insularity provided by the colonialists. In Gurnah's Admiring Silence (1996), these acts of revenge degenerate into imprisonment

without trial:

> … after the ministers and the deputy ministers had been taken in and humiliated before being summarily sentenced … Three men dressed in plain clothes and carrying guns … took him [Hashim] away to detention. (p. 70)

The narrator uses the example of his uncle Hashim as one of those who suffered a stint of eighteen months in detention for engaging in illegal trade (Gurnah, 1996).
By using reverse chronology in these historical narratives, Gurnah draws, in a non-linear way, the temporal sequence of the past that constructs a sense of diaspora as seen in the way the characters seem to lose their sense of belonging in Zanzibar due to their constant travels that were caused by the negative impact of ethnic hatred after independence, for example as alluded to by Omar Saleh who is seeking asylum in Britain. He tells Kelvin Edelman:

> Think of me as one of those objects that Europe took away with her … Do you remember the endless catalogue of objects that were taken away to Europe because they were too fragile and delicate to be left in the clumsy and careless hands of natives? I am fragile and precious too, a sacred work, too delicate to be left in the hands of natives, so now you'd better take me too. (Gurnah, 2001, p. 12)

In By the Sea (Gurnah, 2001), the presence of Latif Mahmud in Germany can be explained by the strained relationships between the newly elected government of Zanzibar and Britain that saw the government sending a young crop of the elite to study in East Germany, and who would later return to Zanzibar to work:

> Leaving... I've had years to think about that, leaving and arriving, until the moments acquired a crust and a gnarled disfigurement that gives them a kind of nobility. I left when I was seventeen to go to East Germany to study. If that seems far-fetched now it is partly because East Germany has been transformed … into a fantasy bad lands of the imagination, a TV-land of obstinate crooked government and now disgruntled unemployed neo-fascists … To us it seemed like a gleaming new order intimidating in its earnest and brutal self-assurance. (p. 104)

The use of reverse chronology of history also works by presenting the narrative in three conflicting voices that accentuate the place of Zanzibari Arabs while at the same time undermining the narrative of the British/Arab nexus in the civilization of East Africa, as seen in this excerpt:

> The Arabs themselves do not amount to much. They are mostly bluster, not capable of a day's work unless their lives depended on it or there is a bit of loot and pillage in it. Before we came this way, this was pirate country. When the winds were right, the Arabs came raiding all along the coast, kidnapping and looting at will, making slaves. When the winds turned they sped back to their caves to play with their booty … Despite the pretence of order that the Sultan of Zanzibar represents, without our

> presence here this would return to his pirate country in one season. (Gurnah, 2005, pp. 83-4)

In Gurnah's Desertion (2005), the role of the British in making Zanzibar a better society is alluded to in the discussion between Mr. Burton and Fredrick Turner with Martin Pearce acting as a passive audience. However, Gurnah contests the notion that all the imperialists had a condescending attitude towards their African subjects. This is manifested in the way Martin Pearce, Mr. Burton and Fredrick Turner put forward their arguments. For example, Martin Pearce speaks in a skeptical voice that reminds us of the gap in his attitude towards both the Zanzibari Arabs and the Africans. This attitude is informed by the hospitality accorded him by Hassanali. His argument is sourced from first-hand experiences and encounters with the Africans (colonial subjects). Martin Pearce becomes the foreign traveller who is ready to embrace the local influences of the supposed 'subjects' of colonialism rather than assert the imperial power. For him, Africa has honoured him with the opportunity to learn a language for the interpretation and recording of his historical exploits. He perceives the Arabs and the Africans as humans potent with kindness. While Mr. Burton's own representation of events is driven by an attitude inculcated from a more theoretical dimension and by the imperialists:

> His talk was all about the Uganda Protectorate … and all the estates that were going to be created up there when the railway was finished. According to Burton, that was the whole point of the Protectorate … To Burton, and according to him … it was to open up the beautiful high country in the highlands, always intended for European occupation, and currently squatted on by stone-age vagrants and blood-thirsty pastoralists. (p. 31).

This argument is premised on a 'racialized' frontier.
The technique of reverse chronology works by suspending the continuity of the history of colonialism and Martin Pearce serves as an example of the British who look at humanity as one species, as demonstrated in his desire to learn and speak local languages. For these narratives to convey historical facts, Gurnah uses the character of Martin Pearce whose actions and arguments present relative truths that are just as plausible and convincing as they are contesting. Martin Pearce thinks that the idea of human oppression is uncalled for, saying:

> I think we'll come to see what we're doing in places like these less heroically … I think we'll come to be ashamed of some of the things we have done. We owe them care for theway we have intruded in their ways of life. (p. 85)

This same attitude is held by Fredrick's wife, Christabell, who would not stand the oppression to which the British subjected their colonial subjects, thus she goes back to Britain and never comes back to Africa (Gurnah, 2005).

This technique has also been used to capture the nature of the relationship between the younger generation of characters who were born and/or found themselves as migrants and their older informants who are perceived as more knowledgeable about the history

that informs their present diasporic conditions and identities. In Gurnah'sBy the Sea(2001), this strategy works by exploiting the views of Saleh Omar to correct the (mis)representation of the sour relationship that existed between him (Saleh Omar) and Latif Mahmud's father. Saleh Omar gives a detailed history of the issues that led to the conflict:

> … Rajab Shaaban Mahmud came to the house in my absence, at the specific request of Bi Maryam herself because...[he] was speaking scandal, saying that my father had fooled, had tricked Bi Maryaminto signing her house over to him. As a result of this cleverness on my father's part, I had inherited the house and would inherit everything else that belonged to Bi Maryam when she died. (Gurnah, 2001, p. 189)

Hence, Saleh Omar provides a more 'objective'view by virtue of the fact that, as an 'older' narrator, he (Saleh Omar) does not exploit the innocence/ignorance of the 'younger' interlocutor (Latif Mahmud). This re-representation of reality, offers us an elliptical exploration of their life at an earlier time in Zanzibar. In other instances, the younger narrator triggers the memory of an older narrator by referring to a situation that had been told to him by someone else. In Admiring Silence(Gurnah, 1996), for example, the narrator uses the information from Bi Nuru to interrogate his mother about his father's true identity:

> "Bi Nuru told me about him," I said, and I saw from herface that she had not known that … She said his name was Abbas and that he had died, but I heard people say different things outside, especially when I was older. (p. 129)

Thus, the narrator's mother uses this reverse chronology of events to give a more nuanced and informed explanation to the narrator about the physical appearance of his father and the narrator in a way that can better assist to reconstruct an imaginary picture of how his father would have looked like by looking backwards to the past that is now beyond his childhood:

> Usually he was quiet with people, you know, polite and retiring-kimya kimya…But when no one was around, he was full of it, stories and jokes and mischief … He was slim, in the way young men are and not very tall. His hair was short and curly, almost glossy, not tangled and ropy like yours. His face was slim, with a small round chin …(Gurnah,1996, p. 129)

The more the narrator travels, the more he becomes a stranger to himself and the more he realizes that the history about his past can only be alluded to through what his mother and Bi Nuru choose to remember.

Use of Selective Amnesia as a Counter-Historical Trope

Selective amnesia can be understood as a situation in which a character chooses what to remember, and what to forget, so that what has been 'sifted' becomes what the character brings to bear on the conscious mind and, hence, becomes active memory. According to Caruth (1996): "The experience of trauma, the fact of latency…seems to consist…in an inherent latency within the experience itself, the historical power of the

trauma is not just that it is only in and through its forgetting, that it is first experienced at all" (p. 465).From this statement, we can infer that it is only when memory is converted into experience that amnesia becomes a precondition for one to recover the truth from a past with some degree of immediacy that cannot be obtained from ordinary remembering.

Selective amnesia works by invoking a past encounter as experienced by characters and resituates it in a context that can enable a reader visualize and relate it to a situation that are easily identifiable. It therefore serves as a precondition to recovering the 'truth' from a past. For amnesic memory to convey historical reality of an unimaginable occurrence, the author has to employ figures and metaphors that transcend the boundaries of fact.

In Gurnah's The Last Gift(2011), the metaphor of the disintegrating house that seems to be hiding something is one persistent nightmare that haunts Anna:

> The dream came back to Anna… She had not had it for a while, not for two or three weeks…The dream was of a house. She lived in part of the house and the rest was derelict, with sagging roof beams and creaking half-rotten wooden windows. There was someone else in the house, not someone she saw but who was there in the vicinity, just out of the frame. It was not Nick, or it wasn't most of the time. Sometimes after she woke up, she thought it must have been Nick, and at other times that it was one or other of the several men she had known. It was not a house she recognized, even as a picture. Everything about it was unfamiliar. The ruined part was barnlike and empty, and visible from every part of the rest of the house. In a strange way, she felt she was always visible to the dereliction as well, as it was something living. That part of the house was brown, not a real colour but more like a colour of exhaustion. The paintwork was peeling, and its beams and banisters leaned slightly from age and fatigue. Its dereliction was malign, watchful, accusing. (pp. 88-9)

Anna's life seems haunted by her unassimilated past in which, rather than utilizing the past or memories to rewrite the present, she allows others to victimize her and her life is pulled back by certain bad memories which are occasionally triggered by words or phrases that take her back to forgotten scenes in her family history (Gurnah,2011). She is, seemingly, suffering from failures of memory that, in the researcher's view, are manifestations of a traumatic past that makes her want to inflect and distort these memories of their family as one of migrants who have no attachment to their roots. She comes to the realization that this nightmare resonates with something in her past that she had glossed over for a long time. She remembered how her father talked to her about the importance of self-respect, something she constantly ignored:

> When she wore anything tight or short or revealing, he disapproved … "What will anybody think if they see you like that?" he said. "That we have not brought you up to have self-respect." In the end he got tired of the bad feeling these encounters aroused and he tried to ignore her, looking hurt that she took no notice of his instruction (Gurnah, 2011, p. 94)

From what Abbas chooses to remind Anna, we can see a symbolic return of their repressed and ineffable past as a people whose identity as black migrants does not enjoy the privileges of being British and this informs the present circumstances of Anna's life which, with the passing of time, become trauma-inducing and leads her into moments of self-exploration.

In fact, Anna presents herself as a person who is struggling to forget her black migrant identity and wants to hold onto the dream of being 'British' and to the adventure of her youthful escapades:

> Perhaps she did not tell Nick [about the nightmare] at once because she wanted to have a better understanding of all these feelings before she recounted it…It was her feeling of guilt that most troubled him…She had wanted to go on to say something about the uncanniness of the dream, its extreme unlikeliness and how disturbing its menace was…(Gurnah,2011, p. 90-91).

When she is invited to visit Nick's family for the Easter weekend, she realizes that Nick's family was utterly racist as captured in the conversation between Anna and Uncle Digby especially when he interrogates her about her origins:

> "And where do you come from?"
> "Anna's British," Nick said curtly, answering for her.
> "Yes, of course. Anna's British…but what was she before she was British?" (Gurnah,2011, p. 116)

These racial epithets that keep sneaking into the conversation between Anna and Nick's family reminds Anna that she is less British and her definition of being British is done in spite of her race.

Anna struggles to remember certain aspects of her past and erase others while, at the same time, she tries to weave the more appealing narratives into the history of their diasporic adventure.

Hence, what she presents to Nick about her family is an identity that is ambiguous and full of certain historical implications about migrants and migrancy as captured in Nick's preconceived conclusions in relation to Anna's family:

> … I feel sorry for people like you because you don't know how to look after yourselves. Your father was a whinnying tyrant, bullying everyone with one misery or another, in the grip of a psychic crisis, so it seemed. But he only had diabetes, a thoroughly treatable disease, that's all. Your mother was an abandoned baby and doesn't know who she is … And then it turns out your father is an absconder and a bigamist but he couldn't just talk about this, the whole crowd of you in the grip of a hopeless melodrama, acting like immigrants … (Gurnah, 2011, pp. 235-6)

In Gurnah's studied works, the researcher identified several instances in which he has allowed historical skepticism to haunt the life of the novels and that of the characters. This works by transforming the problem of historical representation into a problem of individual

memory as is the case with Anna in Desertion (Gurnah, 2005) and Yusuf in Paradise (Gurnah, 1994), whose lives suffer a traumatic anxiety, and unspoken crises in their pasts which manifest in nightmares.

Like Anna, Yusuf, in Paradise (Gurnah, 1994), suffers from persistent selective amnesia which presents itself in nightmares that occur in the form of a pack of dogs that have come to maul them up:

> The dogs roamed in packs, loping and alert as they scuffle in shadows and thickets. They filled Yusuf's mind with nightmares … In his dreams they stood two-legged over him, their long mouths half open and slavering, their pitiless eyes passing over his stiff, prone body (Gurnah, 1994, p. 26)

The dogs are a metaphor for the material greed that accompanies the Omani Arabs' trade and Yusuf's incontinence demonstrates his molestation by the threat of being subjected to slavery and, since this material greed has refused to be tamed, it has inflicted terror and fear beyond Yusuf's ability to withstand it. The phrases used by Mohammed Abdalla to inform Yusuf of his new adventure into the interior where he is to be initiated into the trading expeditions of Seyyid Aziz, trigger memories which traumatize Yusuf:

> "You'll come and trade with us, and learn the difference between the ways of civilization and the ways of the savage…" A smile grew on his face as he spoke, a predatory grimace which made Yusuf think of the dogs that prowled the lanes of his nightmares (Gurnah,1994, p. 26)

Yusuf's life is dogged by past experiences about the slavery that he is a victim of hence he desires to wipe out such memories in order to organize his present into an ordered space where he is in control and in charge of his affairs.

In Admiring Silence (Gurnah, 1996), the narrator's personal selective memories of his arrival and treatment in Britain are instrumental in providing a mobile sense of identity as a 'diasporic'. The narrated circumstances only provide impetus for the reader to reflect on certain disjointed narratives of the past with regard to the narrator's life; both before leaving for Britain as a tourist (using a tourist visa) and having gone to study under the guardianship of Ahmed Hussein (Gurnah, 1996).

The narrator learns to fend for himself by ignoring certain rules that define the conduct of foreign students:

> … I was desperate for money and was not allowed to work - itsaid so in my student visa. So I circled the street for half an hour, approaching the restaurant from different angles to make it look less alien and unwelcoming, and trying to talk myself out of feebleness. Then on one of my sorties I saw a scrawny thin man walk up to the restaurant door and begin to fiddle with a bunch of keys … I stepped up to him. "Is that job still going then?" I asked. "Washing-up," he said. "Starting right away. Six till eleven."…my excitement with the job had long vanished. Now it was just dirty, greasy water, recalcitrant crockery and feeding on crumbs (yes, I used to pick at the left-overs if they had not been messed up too much). My corner of the kitchen was

> powerfully lit … At times the lights made me feel as if I was a prisoner in a camp, surrounded by a mob of irritable, yelping mockers. (Gurnah, 1996, p. 56)

The narrator weaves the traumas of having left home in Zanzibar with the reality of the wider historical traumas that manifest as racist attacks on the black immigrants in Britain. Taking cue from the above quote, the researcher realized that racist attacks on the black immigrants in Britain questions the capacity of the world to learn to coexist peacefully and whether the 'reality' of equality among humanity will ever be achieved.

In The Last Gift (Gurnah, 2011), Abbas' recollection of his past in Zanzibar captures a traumatic repression because Abbas does not talk about his family or his childhood. He attempts to redefine himself in terms of his roles as a sea farer, and a migrant who is out to reconstruct his life and family. In a similar way, his wife Maryam, also has a trauma associated with her identity: "Her sense of self is at odds because she is dropped off at the steps of a hospital" (Gurnah, 2011, pp. 19-20) and speculators believe she is Asiatic and a daughter of a teenage mother. This traumatic history haunts the lives of both the parents and their children and becomes the provocative template for the search for their identity as a migrant family. Jamal and Anna realize that their situation could only be explained as worse than an immigrant family: "For Jamal, he could not quite make himself say home when he meant England or think of foreigners without fellow feeling" (Gurnah, 2011, p. 47).

Maryam also makes a deliberate figurative journey into her 'strangerness' by selecting what to tell Anna and Jamal concerning her past. The trauma of her past drives her to unlock those things that should have remained as secret to her psyche and which present her as a victim of gender oppression while at the same time highlighting the role of women in bringing into perspective the need for their narratives to be included in the bigger picture of history:

> "I did not tell you about the cousin before," Maryam said … "It is only a man forcing himself on me … I should have forgotten about it, like an old scar that fades. But I still feel the humiliation of it, the injustice … I feel it is important to tell you. It did not feel right to tell you those things when you were younger … But now I want you to know, so that you don't think there is a dirty secret I am keeping from you. I wanted to explain to you fully why I ran away from Ferooz and Vijay, and why for so long, I could not bear the thought of getting in touch with them." (Gurnah, 2011, p.193)

Maryam's life is haunted by a sense of historical uncertainty. She seems to have, and still is, suffering from profound traumatic amnesia about the ills perpetuated against her by her benefactors. While she may not wish to tell her children everything, she can remember the intensity of the humiliating, traumatic events. This troubled memory recurs repeatedly despite her intense efforts to erase them from her mind. "She narrates her past experiences, firstly as a child born and abandoned at the steps of a hospital then as a child adopted by Mr. and Mrs. Riggs" (Gurnah, 2011, p. 21). Maryam uses these confessions about her past, as a mirror that reflects to her children their own identity and pasts as immigrants.

In the text analysed, characters manifest an intricate relationship between trauma and forgetting that is characterized in the acts of running away. In The Last Gift (Gurnah,

2011), and Admiring Silence (1996), the socio-economic hierarchies among the rich Arabs of Zanzibar that underpinned the cultural hierarchies of order and disorder are used to oppress the less economically-endowed Arabs in an attempt to cover up certain immoralities in the society. In The Last Gift (Gurnah, 2011), Abbas' life is characterized by several escapades that are, in most instances, due to circumstances beyond him. For Abbas, his leaving home for the first time is because he had to study at a teachers' college many miles from home (Gurnah, 2011) and had to put up with the relatives of his sister's husband.

His second journey is an attempt to run away from an arranged marriage that had, seemingly, been forged by the family of a rich Arab merchant that wanted to use Abbas to cover up for their having impregnated a slave girl (Sharifa) whom they had housed. Abbas realizes that the child she was carrying wasn't his and that he had been set up.

It is this sense of deep betrayal by both his sister and the in-laws that triggers his running away:

> He tried to persuade himself that he would cope with the meaning of all these thoughts when it was necessary… He began to hear things in what his wife said and thought she had been forced to marry him to hide her shame when she had known another. He was convinced that something vile had happened in this house … that many people knew about what had happened and were getting ready to have a good laugh at the skinny cuckold … After six months of marriage his wife looked as if she would deliver any day. (Gurnah, 2011, pp. 142-3)

The case of Abbas leaving his 'pregnant wife' and stowing away, and his unwillingness to confront the past and re-examine the painful reality of subjugation by the rich Arab families, leads to the perpetuation of a trauma that is unconsciously passed down from himself to his wife and to the children:

> Quite quickly, his eyes and his voice told her that they were approaching the reason for his silence for all these years … When he had finished telling her about the woman he had married and abandoned pregnant, they sat without speaking for a while … It must have been more complicated than the way he told it but that is what he was keeping to himself for all those years, that he ran away and abandoned a wife and a child … She was not sure exactly why it caused her such pain … Should we tell the children? ... Should they just keep quiet for an easy life? ... He would have been nineteen years old when he did that, abandoned his wife and unborn child. He never sent word to anyone afterwards, and never ever met anyone who knew him before. That was what he said. He did not have a photograph or a single scrap or anything that connected him to that place; he made sure of that … (Gurnah, 2011, pp. 150-151).

From this excerpt, it can be, argued that selective amnesia works by bringing Abbas to a close confrontation with his past and we can appreciate the fact that an individual's traumatic experience has a bearing on a wider circle of the community's history. In contextualizing the historical events of his Zanzibari Arab community, Abbas is ambivalent

as to whether to avenge or forgive his oppressors. This leaves him with a sense of grief and amnesia that is unresolved and this becomes a metaphor for the transformative power that alters one's vision of the world. In the audio recording of Abbas' experiences, he allows both his wife and children to partake of his private memory and this opens up their knowledge of Abbas' past in Zanzibar:

> … Maryam told them how Abbas ran away because he thought the child was not his, and since then had not spoken of his flight to anyone. For forty years he has lived with his shame … unable to speak about it to anyone. Now he wants to talk about it because he thinks he's dying (Gurnah, 2011, p. 194).

But as much as Abbas relays some historical reality, his selective memory is not reliable enough because he has to embellish his historical 'facts' so that what he brings into the hearing of his family has been misrepresented to suit them.

In *Admiring Silence* (Gurnah, 1996), the narrator's father also runs away from his pregnant wife because of the mistreatment and spite from Uncle Hashim: [who,] "Felt only scorn for him … he found him quelling" (p. 51).

This act is counter-posed to the illiberal, traditional Zanzibari Arab culture and focuses on the liberal, transgressive instincts of an individual who senses that the culture of his community has oppressed him. The running away motif offers the reader another perspective through which one can break away from the trauma generated by stereotypes that otherwise enhance injustice.

Silence as a Counter Historical Trope

Silence, as a counter historical strategy, plays a socio-political role by conveying the personal paralysis and helplessness that discriminated groups suffer in their attempt at evoking the truths about their traumatic pasts and propels them into adventuring. In the context of this paper, silence is examined as it manifests in the form of distortion, marginalization, exclusion from the public domain, voicing (and lack of it), trivialization, racism, 'ethnicization', and other forms of discrimination that speak to the traumas that accompany the identity of the Zanzibari Arab community. Silences, therefore, foreground those identities that result from the interaction between the Zanzibari Arabs and the world. Hence, by using silence as a counter historical trope, we could precisely track the traumas that are responsible for the characters' adventures.

This study was guided by Macherey's (1978) ideas on silence in a work of fiction. He argues that [the silence of a work of fiction] "is not the sole meaning, but that which endows meaning with a meaning: It is this silence … which informs us of the precise conditions for the appearance of an utterance and thus its limits, giving it real significance" (p. 86). On the other hand, Trouillot (1995) argues that "silence [is] an active and transitive process…and active dialectical counterparts of which history is the synthesis" (p. 48).

In the texts scrutinized, there is a paradoxical silencing of the women, racism, religious discrimination, ethnicity as well as homosexuality, and these compelled the researcher to discern a deeper meaning into their traumatic experiences that have resulted in their silences. These traumas generate gaps in the history of the successes and failures of the Indian Ocean trade and those of colonialism. They also attend to the negative impacts

of the aforementioned factors in the oppression of men and women and speak to the muting of their voices. By using silence, Gurnah's selected works bolster up such memories by addressing some truth about the double marginalization that such gendered reading offers which would otherwise have been irrecoverable.

Whether migration is triggered by a search for education, trade or asylum, the Zanzibari Arabs are often isolated and tend to suffer a limited interaction with their hosts. The African migrant, though in the company of other migrants, is reduced to an anonymous entity. This is demonstrated in the way Rashid and his fellow foreign student friends, who were immigrants in the midst of white society, are treated as invisible:

> It was not easy to get near the English students, even ones in the same class. The feeling of resistance was there from the beginning, a feeling I sensed but was not sure of … I sensed it in the slightness of the smiles I was given in return to my beaming ones. So at first I sensed this feeling of resistance, then I heard the embarrassed sniggers and saw the looks of surprise and irritation in anonymous faces in the corridors and in the streets and in time I came to hear their vexation and dislike (Gurnah, 2005, pp. 213-14).

For Rashid, in Desertion (Gurnah, 2005), his imagination of Britain, before he leaves Zanzibar, is shown as a "place full of niceties, courtesies, but on arrival he realizes that it is full of deception and immigrants are perceived as an exotic curiosity and an intruder" (p. 123). Rashid's self-perception changes accordingly. The disillusionment with the dreams of departure and the oddities of being rejected by the host society leads him to sink into loneliness and helplessness.

Silences also occur in situations where information on certain aspects of a character privileges certain events over others. Latif Mahmud, for example, is a scholar of no mean repute but has been 'objectified' by his host society. He is called a 'black amoor' (Gurnah, 2001, p. 97) in the street and his positive potential as a university professor are literally negated and his immigrant status silences his being a university professor. In By the Sea (Gurnah, 2001), Omar Saleh arrives in Britain as an asylum seeker but chooses not to speak in English to the immigration officers his reasons being that he had been instructed not to speak by whoever sold him the air ticket:

> I had been told not to say anything, to pretend I could not speak any English. I was not sure why, but I knew I would do as I was told because the advice had a crafty ring to it, the kind of resourceful ruse the powerless would know. (Gurnah, 2001, p. 6)

Saleh Omar's refugee status is complicated by his deliberate refusal to speak in English and this hinders any progress for both Saleh Omar and Rachel, the representative at the social security department because the two cannot communicate meaningfully:

> "Anyway, I thought we would get further if we had an interpreter"… "But I am afraid … It's not hopeless, because someone I approached returned my call this morning. He seems willing to do it, but I'll confirm and let you know how we're going to get anything done" … "I don't think I need an interpreter," I said. I was silently gleeful as I said this, of course. Even when you get to my age you can't resist such petty

> triumphs and, at that moment, my glee was no different from that I had felt as a child or the hundreds of other times later when I had been sensationally and unexpectedly knowledgeable. I no longer cared what injury the ticket-seller had been trying to save me from with his canny advice, and I was beginning to think that his canniness was something to do with the paranoia of the powerless (Gurnah, 2001,p. 64).

This poses an exceptional challenge to the host society and the question of the authority of the refugee in getting his way through. Silence is amplified in the way the social security department works to ensure that they get an interpreter from the university who is said to speak 'that language'.

Gurnah employs silence as a means of dealing with issues of gender and the paradox that is associated with Islam as a religion: while Islam preaches equality among humanity, it paradoxically suppresses the women. Gurnah's fiction counters the perception that the home front secludes and excludes the women from interacting and socializing with the outside world. Instead, the home front becomes a site for the women to demonstrate their dominance and the actualization of self-freedom. In Paradise (Gurnah, 1994), women take advantage of Yusuf's hostage status to make sexual propositions:

> They (women) sent the younger girls over with small gifts and propositions ... come and see me this afternoon while my husband is taking his nap. Do you want a hand-bath? Have you got an itch you'd like me to scratch? Sometimes they shouted at him, and one of the old women blew kisses and wiggled her bottom whenever she passed by. (p.167)

They prove that they do not need to move into a public arena to exercise their 'power' of seduction: in fact, they need a semblance of complacence to flirt about with their guests. The voicing of seductive statements and bodily dispositions can be read as acts of empowerment which elicit new frameworks that are based on the countering of the cultural and social expectations on women.

Gurnah uses the female gender, with Rehana as an example, to act as a means of addressing the silenced role of women in shaping new identities that are both irksome, yet awed in the dominantly Muslim society. Rehana represents how female characters have appropriated the idea of submissive silence to question and refute the imposition of male-defined attitudes on matters of love and marriage that are common in a pre-dominantly patriarchal society. She engages intimately with Martin Pearce, an 'outsider' and even elopes with him to Mombasa. This is done in spite of her brother Hassanali who, earlier on, had compelled Rehana to marry Azad, the Indian merchant:

> … Did the affair result in a quarrel between Rehana and Hassanali? It must have done. He must have berated her for losing all sense of what is proper or bearable. He must have ranted at her for the embarrassment she had brought upon him…What Iknow… is thatit did happen, that Rehana Zakariya and Martin Pearce became lovers, that Martin Pearce left for Mombasa, and that a short while later, under pretext of going to visit relatives, Rehana followed him there. She lived with him in an

> apartment he rented in the leafy district…Martin and Rehana lived openly together, for a while, until he left to return home (Gurnah, 2005, p. 119).

This is a kind of revenge on Hassanali; a way of venting Rehana's pain of being jilted by Azad, "a man she had little regard for but had been compelled to marry to save Hassanali any embarrassment" (Gurnah, 2005, p. 72). Rehana also demonstrates how women use their sexuality and energy to give prominence to their pain.

In Desertion (Gurnah, 2005), Jamila takes the initiative in seducing Amin (p. 159) while, at the same time, [she] maintains a romantic relationship with a politician (p. 185) yet she is also said to be a divorcee (p. 165) and no one understands her many travels between Zanzibar and Mombasa. Her actions are perceived as being extremely banal and daring and do not fit in well with her status as a woman in a conservative society. Hence Jamila's character becomes a kind of dissidence, a kind of marginality that diasporic identities attempt to resist by forcing its way into the limelight. Amin's silence is complicated by the nature of his crime: He loves Jamila, a half-caste that is so demonized that she does not evoke any sympathy and Amin's parents do notlisten to his explanation.

Even when Jamila and Amin's relationship and actions are framed in terms of adventure and courtly romance, the 'ethnicist' in Amin's parents paints a picture laced with moral superiority and hatred. This silences Amin's desire for true affection and is, therefore, fixated for life. By literally demonizing Jamila, Amin's parents complicate the relationship between Jamila and Amin by fanning the society's pernicious, ethnic violence that resulted in migration.

Jamila, like Rehana Zakariya in Desertion (Gurnah, 2005), represents the non-complacent, independent-minded Muslim women who have broken ranks with their passive, lack luster women in the text who play second fiddle to their male folk.

Women seem determined to subvert the status quo in this male dominated community by following after their personal pleasures, at the expense of Muslim religious ethos on sexuality and morality. This is demonstrated in the way Latif Mhamud's mother in Gurnah's By the Sea (2001) engages in an illicit love relationship with a government minister within the purview of her husband, children and society.

Indeed, their physical appeal empowers these women to negotiate for a better life for themselves and their families as is the case with Latif Mhamud whose scholarship to go to the German Democratic Republic to study dentistry is courtesy of the love relationship between his mother and the Government Minister. It also becomes a chance for Latif's mother to avenge herself on behalf of her family against Omar Saleh and the subsequent repossession of the house:

> Four weeks later, the house I had fought Rajab Shaban Mahmud through the courts for was gazzeted as the property of the bank, and the tenants I had installed in it were given notice to quit with immediate effect. Rajab Shaban Mahmud and his wife Asha moved back in as soon as the house was empty (Gurnah, 2001, p.213).

This can be contrasted with those women who end up with mental break-downs due to extreme oppression by their merchant husbands. The author employs the trope of madness to represent the extremity of misery and oppression that the women characters suffer in the homes of their rich merchant husbands in which they are locked up as is the case in The Last Gift (Gurnah, 2011) wherein Ibrahim's mother is said to have lost her mind:

> His mother sometimes became strange. Her mind drifted from its moorings, and her eyes turned blank and depthless. She broke things and hurt herself … There was a pattern to what she did when she became strange, but it was not predictable. Sometimes she broke things silently and stared with her unblinking gaze, at other times she talked without breaking a thing (p. 256).

Ibrahim's mother's situation (that breaks into occasional monologues due to madness) is symbolic of a woman whose silences have generated from extreme boredom and private exclusion. Despite her husband's absence, she feels suffocated by his 'perceived' domination and, for her, this madness is a statement that demands for freedom. For Zulekha, her marriage to Seyyid Aziz is "full of emptiness and bitterness and defeat" (Gurnah, 1994, p. 229). For these two women, silence is imaginatively situated in an empty space that resounds with tears and they are a disguise for the suppressed anger due to their marginalization and dehumanization.

The fact that Zulekha can unveil her head within the confines of their compound is a metaphor for the kind of resistance to self-effacement and this allows her a degree of social confidence that enables her negotiate her identity. By showing him the purple wound on her left cheek (Gurnah, 1994, p. 226), a metaphor for unfulfilled sexual life (p. 214), she is silently advancing an unarticulated cry that exceeds hearing and understanding. For Zulekha, it has generated a void which, if left unattended, deprives her of a definitive meaning of who she is and the value of existence is suspended.

In all these texts studied, there is an apparent refusal by the Zanzibari Arab Muslims to articulate a connection between their religion and practice vis-á-vis the treatment of their African hosts/subjects. In Paradise (Gurnah, 1994, p. 145), Yusuf is repulsed by the smell on Seyyid Aziz's hand when asked to greet him. This repulsion shows a silent hatred that Yusuf has suppressed over the years. His action becomes the 'eye' with which we read and see through the veiled humanity that has been suppressed in pursuit of material wealth. Yusuf fails to turn his emotional hurt into a version of reality that can be communicably understood in order to explain what pain and humiliation he has had to bear as a slave. Instead, he chooses to walk away and follow the German's potters.

The silences as embodied by Yusuf highlight and, simultaneously, challenge the assumptions that we make about cultural differences between the Zanzibari Arabs and their African hosts/subjects. We realize that the humiliation that Seyyid Aziz and his caravan is subjected to in Chatu's kingdom is a kind of resistance to the oppression to which the Arabs had subjected the Africans and, hence, it becomes a subversion of the power positions and challenges the established norms by raising the Africans to the position of transparency, and transgresses the boundaries of the use of Islam as a marker of the civilized which is contrasted with the status of the 'un Islamised' Africans in the interior who have been tagged as the shenzi (Akinola, 1972).

This becomes, for us, a necessary platform for the text to individualize and equalize the subjects. By making the silence speak, it becomes possible to illuminate the fears and concerns of these subjects whose narratives would otherwise have been unheard. Among the contesting histories evoked by these encounters are the moral uncertainties that Islam, as a religion, plays in the forging of trade as well as human relationships between the

Zanzibari Arab traders and the rest of the world and the use of Islam as a tool for 'othering' the Zanzibari African as a lesser player in both trade and religion.

In Paradise (Gurnah, 1994), Seyyid Aziz epitomizes people that are socially and morally torn between historical systems of values and social structures that are evidenced in his practiced religious piety. Although he engages in the observation of Islamic prayers, he does not forgive his debtors; instead, he takes their children in as 'slaves' who are pawned away to work for him until the debt is settled.

For Seyyid Aziz, his self-representation is seen to perform an intersection of what it means to be an ardent Muslim as well as an astute trader. He ably interweaves patience and eminence in the face of adversity as captured in the way he responds to Chatu's mistreatment:

> "… Take your men and leave" … "Not without our goods," the merchant said. "Tell him that if it is our lives he wants he can have them. They are worthless. But if we are to have our lives we also demand our goods. How far would we get if we were unable to trade? Tell him we will not go without our goods." (Gurnah, 1994, p. 162)

Seyyid Aziz present Islam as multi-faceted, with challenges, ruptures, divergences and, sometimes, as a threat to self-preservation at another, it represents wealth and prosperity as presented in Seyyid Aziz's mode of dressing:

> He smelt very fine … his thin, flowing Kanzus and silk, embroidered caps [made his presence felt]. When he entered a room, his presence wafted in like something separate from the person, announcing excess and prosperity and daring … His leather money pouches were belted round his groin … looping over his hip-bones and meeting in a thonged buckle over the join of his thighs like a kind of armour. (Gurnah, 1994, p. 18).

This ironic and ambivalent embrace of Islam by Seyyid Aziz works in a way that seems natural to the text; as if it unravels the mystic and the social codes in his kind of a secular world that is marked by a trading adventure in the interior of Zanzibar.

When he is dispossessed of his material wares of trade and is sent away by Chatu, he invokes the role of God in punishing those who are evil:

> "Mercy belongs to God," the merchant said … "Tell him carefully. Mercy belongs to God. It is not for him to withdraw. Tell him that carefully." Chatu stared at the merchant in disbelief while the elders and those who were near enough to hear Nyundo's softly spoken words laughed, (Gurnah, 1994, p. 162)

The presence of gays is a silent way of subverting the conventional codes of religion and morality as dictated by the pre-colonial African societies as well as the dictates of Islam as a religion yet it is permitted among the Ibadi community of the Omani Arabs. This is validated by Wilkinson's (1981) argument that "the Ibadi community permitted licentious behavior, homosexuality among others" (p. 278). Hence, for Seyyid, this was not untoward but, among the African potters, their perversion was a salient statement of protestation against

the merchant who has suppressed them and subjected them into inhumanity in pursuit of personal wealth:

> [Mohammed Abdalla] had a reputation as a merciless sodomizer and could often be seen absent-mindedly stroking his loins. It was often said … that he picked porters who would be willing to get down on all fours for him during the journey. (Gurnah, 1994, p. 47)

Their situation of social apathy has rendered them sexually powerless and this can be blamed on Seyyid who is financially superior and who has dominated the trade. At an individual level, these incidences represent the way materialism supersedes the spiritual so that even if Islam represented the moral and the ideal, those merchants with higher economic power take advantage of Islam as the faith that represents order and the Ideal to access and exploit their repressed sexual desires. At a more symbolic level, this sexual apathy represents the clash of values and a rebellion against the status quo. It dismantles the hegemony of the African culture and the codes of religious uprightness that are sacrificed at the altar of economic self-aggrandizement.

Gurnah's fiction can be read as attempting to displace the ethnic boundaries between the Zanzibari Arabs and the Zanzibari Africans by enforcing Islam as a marker of equality. This works by silencing the social hierarchies but, in a counter-productive way, it makes the Zanzibari Arab community become more entrenched as the oppressive ethnic group while presenting the people of the East African coast as trusting. This is captured in the dialogue between Nyundo and Chatu when they are seeking entry into Chatu's kingdom in order to engage in trade:

> "This is what he says," Nyundo began, pausing after every few words … "We did not ask you to come, and we have no welcome for you. Your intentions are not generous, and by coming among us you only bring us evil and calamity. You have come here to do us harm. We have suffered from others like you who have preceded you, and have no intention of suffering again. They came among our neighbours and captured them and took them away…Unspeakable events have taken place since your presence among us. You have come and brought evil among us… This is what he says." … "He says we will not wait until you have made slaves of us and swallowed up our world. When you're like first came to this land you were hungry and naked, and we fed you. Some of them were ill and we cared for them until they were well. Then you lied to us and cheated us … All these goods you brought with you belong to us, because all the goods produced by the land are ours. So we are taking them away from you."(Gurnah, 1994, p.160)

Chatu points out the fact that the Arab merchants have abused their privileged status and, hence, the Africans cannot trust and are suspicious of the Arab merchants.

Silence is also employed as a communicative strategy against racial oppression. In Admiring Silence (Gurnah, 1996), Emma defies the racial boundaries and moves in with the narrator and end up bearing a child out of wedlock:

> Her tight dissembling smile never wavered; if anything, it grew more assured as she worked herself into the part. Not a word about what was really making her unhappy with the new (informal) addition to the family. And because she was dissembling, Emma took up her challenge and confronted her on all her objections, even the ones she did not raise. No, I am not too young. You were already a mother when you were my age. Of course it won't interfere with our studies. Why are you making such a fuss? Is it because he is black? When Emma became pregnant (unplanned), Mrs. Willoughby launched an all-out assault, enlisting Mr. Willoughby, middle-class respectability, the future, the welfare of the unborn child…in short, Holy Matrimony, adoption or abortion. And Emma on her partresisted with relish and zest, repelling attack after attack with contemptuous assurance. (Gurnah, 1996, p. 24)

For the narrator and Emma, their outlook on life enables them realize that their 'alieness' was something heroic because they face up to their actions and "provocations unperturbed and clear-headed rather than feeble and unnerved" (Gurnah, 1996, p. 61). The allusion to the narrator's difference can be read as a means of positioning him as a husband to Emma, a father to Amelia and, hence, an entrenched part of the normalcy of the British nation. In Gurnah's Admiring Silence (1996),the narrator's love story is an entrapment, exploitation and silent resistance. His personal story reveals a life full of cynicism and loss of direction in the urban landscape of the contemporary world in which interracial love and alienation disturbingly overlaps with Emma's own life.

In effect, the silencing of the racial difference, as seen in the way Mr. and Mrs. Willoughby react to this new couple and their child, speaks to the possibility of liberating humanity from the bondages of racism as a maker of identity and as such, it gives space for diasporic identities to prosper. As the narrator interacts with Emma's family, we are presented with a man whose sense of identity is constantly deformed by his inability to reconcile his present actions of "living in sin" (Gurnah, 1996, p. 85) with a white woman with his past as a child raised up to live by the Islamic rules of piety and moral uprightness:

> … I did not know how I could write to her that I was living with an English woman to whom I was not married. To my mother, Emma would be something disreputable, a mistress, and such matters, if they would not be avoided, were best dealt with discretely … I thought of lying, of writing to say that I was married to an English woman, but I never did, afraid of the havoc that would let loose, afraid of the litanies of blame that would follow. Now we have lost you, she has stolen you away from us … As if I was not already lost and stolen and shipwrecked and mangled beyond recognition anyway. (Gurnah, 1996, p. 89)

For him, this silence is motivated by an inner ambivalence between a moral past and his present situation of indecisiveness which opens up a window into the narrator's mind enabling us to see a clear distinction between the experiencing self and the narrating self and this leads us to the conclusion that the narrator is suffering from a deep sense of 'otherness'.

Conclusion

Gurnah's fiction has employed silence as a trope that works to individualize and equalize the characters in the texts analyzed. By making silence speak, it becomes possible to illuminate the fears and concerns of the characters whose narratives would have otherwise been. Among the contesting histories evoked by these encounters are the moral uncertainties that Islam (as a religion) plays in the forging of trade as well as human relationships between the Zanzibari Arab traders and the rest of the world and the use of Islam as a tool for 'othering' the Zanzibari African as a 'lesser player' in both trade and religion.

Silence has also been used as way of displacing the ethnic boundaries between the Zanzibari Arabs and the Zanzibari Africans by imploring Islam as a marker of equality. This works by silencing the social hierarchies but in a counter-productive way, it makes the Zanzibari Arab community become more conspicuous as the oppressive ethnic group while presenting the people of the East African coast as trusting.

Silence is also motivated by an inner ambivalence between a moral past and a present situation of indecisiveness in the life of a character and this opens a window into the character's mind, enabling us to see a clear distinction between the experiencing self and the narrating self. This has the effect of bringing out a sense of insufficiency in the characters that manifest as a form of 'otherness'.

Silence has been used to demonstrate the character's situation of social apathy that has rendered them sexually powerless. At an individual level, these incidences represent the way materialism supersedes the spiritual so that even if Islam represented the moral and the ideal, those merchants with higher economic power take advantage of Islam as the faith that represents order and 'the ideal' to access and exploit their repressed sexual desires. At a more symbolic level, this sexual apathy represents the clash of values and a rebellion against the status quo. It dismantles the hegemony of the African culture and the codes of religious uprightness that are sacrificed at the altar of economic self-aggrandizement.

Silence is also employed as a communicative strategy against racial oppression. The silencing of the racial difference, as seen in the way Mr. and Mrs. Willoughby react to this new couple and their child speaks to the possibility of liberating humanity from the bondages of racism as a maker of identity and, as such, it gives space for diasporic identities to prosper.

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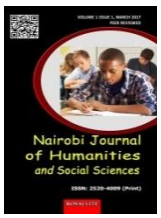

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Textualization of History in Poems from East Africa by Cook and Rubadiri.

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ABSTRACT

Using new historicism, this paper examines textualization of history in selected poems from Cook and Rubadiri anthology, Poems from East Africa (1971). A textual analysis of poems with titles that encompass appellations of real humans, such as Martin Luther King and Yatuta Chisiza, and places, such as Vietnam and Angola, have been selected in order to compare how history and historicization has been undertaken in poetry. History and historicization are examined as twin elements that ambivalently help readers in understanding the context and inspiration of the poets in the selected poems for this study. The reading established that there is a one to one correlation between the messages contained in the texts (poems) and the historicities surrounding such creations. It also established that the personalities in the poems: Martin Luther King, Yatuta Chisiza, Major Christopher Okigbo, inter alia, fought for causes that, to this day, afflict humanity as a whole. The reading also found that wars such as was the war in Vietnam, Angola, Maji Maji Revolt, and many more, mirror the current wars in various parts of the world.

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Introduction

The relationship between Literature and reality has attracted profound and enduring interest from both literary theorists and literary critics. Being a product of the writer's vivid artistic imagination, literature captures, with point blank accuracy, the observations made by the creative writer, observations that blend the realities of everyday life with imagination. This blending of human experience with imagination is what gives rise to art, to poetry, to literature. The creative writer is both a recorder and a maker of history, but unlike historians (in the ordinary sense) who capture in their writings what has actually taken place, a creative writer relies more on their imagination to record what they think makes sense in the present time, besides what they conjecture could take place and make sense ad infinitum. To a creative writer therefore human experience is constructed to suit the needs of one's imagination. These happenings might be related to the society the creative writer hails from or just be a microcosm of what could happen anywhere in the cosmos. The creative writer thus transcends both temporal and spatial boundaries. It is thus this amalgam of human experience and art that a creative writer presents to the reader who then is supposed to appreciate the aesthetic impact the work might have upon them. The writer's immediate experiences are communicated in ways unique to the writer. The creative writer's style is as idiolectal as their thinking is idiosyncratic, the reason writers can present the same reality in diverse ways thus making literary/poetic reality as multifaceted as there are writers themselves. Thus reality in literature is always subjective.

The writer's work is to make an attempt at persuading the reader to view reality from a given standpoint, besides making the reader appreciate the fact that they do not even have to agree with the writer's way of looking at reality. This perhaps is the condition of life itself: it is not possible that one will always persuade another to embrace a certain perspective on life. This is informed by the fact that writers emerge from real social-historical and cultural backgrounds which in most instances are mirrored in their writings. Their knowledge of what happens in reality perhaps functions as a source of inspiration for their artistic expressions. Be that as it may, writers will always find readers/critics who will embrace their (the writers') perspectives and those who will not. Those who do disagree with writers' standpoints help generate further knowledge by introducing new trajectories to given phenomena thus making the field of creative writing rich in the generation of novel ideas.

This paper discusses the various poems in David Cook and David Rubadiri's edition of poetry anthology *Poems from East Africa (*1971). The poetry in the anthology was written in the late 1960s, 1970 and 1971. The study takes cognizance of the correlation between real life situation (what has been referred to as the world of reality in the preceding paragraphs) and poetry, the 'factual' and 'fictitious', in a bid to unravel the import presented in the poetry in this anthology. This study has employed the neo-historical approach (New Historicism which is, by extension, known as 'Cultural poetics') whereby history is viewed as including all of the cultural, social, political, anthropological discourses at work in any given age, and these various 'texts' are inescapably part of a social construct.

New historicism

This approach was propounded by Stephen Greenblatt and Michel Foucault through his intertextual methods focusing especially on issues of power and knowledge. New

Historicism frequently addresses the critical theory based idea that the lowest common denominator for all human actions is power, so the New Historicist seeks to find examples of power and how it is dispersed within the text. Power is a means through which the marginalized are controlled, and the things that the marginalized (or other) seek to gain. This relates back to the idea that because literature is written by those who have the most power (read knowledge), there must be details in it that show the views of the common people. New Historicists seek to find "sites of struggle" to identify just who is the group or entity with the most power. The presentation and interpretation of events, which the writer appears to support or condemn, is in a way reflexive of the writer's culture as far a new historicists are concerned. At other times it can be seen to do both.

According to Barry (2002), New Historicism is a critical theory propounded by American critic Stephen Greenblatt whose book Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from more to Shakespeare (1980) is usually regarded as its beginning. Barry further observes that tendencies similar to New Historicism can be identified in works by various critics published during the 1970s, a good example being J. W. Lever's The Tragedy of State: A Study of Jacobean Drama (published by Methuen in 1971, and reissued in 1987 with an introduction by Jonathan Dollimore). He explains that this brief and epoch-making book challenged conservative critical views about Jacobean theatre, and linked the plays much more closely with the political events of their era than previous critics had done. Barry writes that a simple definition of the new historicism is that it is a method based on the parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts, usually of the same historical period. Almost all the poems analysed in this paper were written during the historical period the mentioned figures lived and/or were assassinated. Barry continues that new historicism refuses (at least ostensibly) to 'privilege' the literary text: instead of a literary 'foreground' and a historical 'background' it envisages and practises a mode of study in which literary and non-literary texts are given equal weight and constantly inform or interrogate each other. This paper has adopted this approach to criticism. He further writes that this 'equal weighting' is suggested in the definition of new historicism offered by the American critic Louis Montrose who defines it as a combined interest in 'the textuality of history, the historicity of texts'. (Barry, 2002 pp.119-120).

Montrose's definition of New Historicism is what has been adopted through modification for the title of this chapter: Textualization of History in *Poems from East Africa* by Cook and Rubadiri. This interplay of literary and non-literary texts in New Historicism enables the critic to read meanings into works of art in comparison with the historical happenings of the period the literary works were constructed.

Foucault's conception of power is neither reductive nor synonymous with domination. Rather he understands power (in modern times at least) as continually articulated on knowledge and knowledge on power. This theory also encompasses elements of Marxist Literary perspective. According to Derek (2001), Brizee and Tompkins have this to say about New Historicism:

> This school, influenced by structuralist and post-structuralist theories, seeks to reconnect a work with the time period in which it was produced and identify it with the cultural and political movements of the time (Michel Foucault's concept of épistème). New Historicism assumes that every work is a product of the historic

> moment that created it. Specifically, New Criticism is "...a practice that has developed out of contemporary theory, particularly the structuralist realization that all human systems are symbolic and subject to the rules of language, and the deconstructive realization that there is no way of positioning oneself as an observer outside the closed circle of textuality" (Richter 1205).

Working to prise the information out of the symptomatic ailments to present the various alternatives signaled by objective historical events (recorded in time and space) will help us picture out the presumed causative agents of these events. This is what literature seeks, not mere historical prescriptions but descriptions of what could potentially be the underlying explanations to these events. History is seen as part of fiction from Foucault's explanation in 'History of Sexuality'. To reiterate the statement made earlier, history is subjective in New Historicism.

New Historicism and Foucault

Barry (2002) sees New Historicism as resolutely anti-establishment, always implicitly on the side of liberal ideals of personal freedom and accepting and celebrating all forms of difference and 'deviance'. He writes that at the same time, though, it seems simultaneously to despair of the survival of these in the face of the power of the repressive state, which it constantly reveals as able to penetrate and taint the most intimate areas of personal life. He further observes that this notion of the State as all-powerful and all-seeing stems from the post-structuralist cultural historian Michel Foucault whose pervasive image of the State is that of 'panoptic' (meaning 'all-seeing') surveillance. He explains that the Panopticon was a design for a circular prison conceived by the eighteenth-century utilitarian Jeremy Bentham: the design consisted of tiered ranks of cells which could all be surveyed by a single warder positioned at the centre of the circle. Barry explains that the panoptic State, however, maintains its surveillance not by physical force and intimidation, but by the power of its 'discursive practices' (to use Foucault's terminology - 'discursive' is the adjective derived from the noun 'discourse') which circulates its ideology throughout the body politic.

Foucault sees discourse as not just a way of speaking or writing, but the whole 'mental set' and ideology which encloses the thinking of all members of a given society. Barry explains that for Foucault, discourse is not merely singular and monolithic - there is always a multiplicity of discourses - so that the operation of power structures is as significant a factor in (say) the family as in layers of government. He concludes that for Foucault, contesting the power structures may involve, for example, the struggle to change sexual politics just as much as party politics. The individual thus becomes the centre of (a possible sphere) of political action. To Barry, the influence exerted by the individual in the political scene might elicit the interest of a feminist critic. He concludes that by so doing, there might be seen grounds for political optimism. On the other hand, Barry asserts, "when political power operates in and suffuses so many spheres, the possibility of fundamental change and transformation may come to seem very remote" (p.122).

New Historicism is a reaction to Formalism , which, according to Encarta, is a text based method developed by Victor Shklovsky, Vladimir Propp and other Russian critics in the 20th century, which involved a detailed inquiry into the plot structure, narrative perspective, symbolic imagery and other literary techniques. Formalists strictly stuck to the

text as far as interpretation of meaning was concerned. This is what New Historicists sought to discount by ascribing meaning to what lay outside the text for the text alone could not possibly offer all the implications associated with given utterances. The text merely suggests what can be ascribed to it, the interpretation and presentation of history by the readers being purely subjective in New Historicism. It also pries into how the events' portrayal criticizes the leading political figures or movements of the day besides investigating how the work considers traditionally marginalized populations. So the New Historicists dug deeper to unearth the connotations, the suggestions that lay outside the text as a tool through which meanings could be read. These include finding crucial leads to meanings of texts by tracing the events surrounding the life of the writer at the time of writing. So the analysis has employed the New Historicist's approach to focus on the metaphorical implications of the poems to be discussed here. Historical facts in these poems have a symbolic significance thus the need to use Hayden White's term *metahistory.*

The hailing/appellation in some of the titles of the poems in this anthology appears to invite us to read specific meanings into them, meanings closely associated with the said titles in actuality. When a poet hails, one could argue that what they hail is new and that is exactly what they are talking about: a new Vietnam, for instance unrelated to the real life Vietnam in Asia. However, it would be difficult to give credible argument supporting this postulation, thus a critic's resort to see the poet's "Vietnam" as being inextricably bound with the historical Vietnam. This paper shall thus limit itself to the poems whose titles have been crafted by the use of appellation. This appellation helps the reader to both locate the historical period behind the poet's decision to use a title. It shall also guide the interpretation of the subject matter of the poems insofar as this analysis is concerned.

This analysis has selected poems whose titles are an appellation or hailing of somebody or something for the purpose of this paper. This study chose appellation or hailing as its focal point in order to draw the readers' attention to the poets' attempt to expose the suffering borne by oppressed peoples of the world, a motif that cuts across the analysed poems. This appellation also informs the oppressed peoples of the world what gallant and selfless freedom fighters such as Martin Luther King (regardless of the danger of losing their own lives) are doing in order to guarantee their peoples' human dignity. Besides, this appellation takes the readers to various spots in the world where the locals' human rights have not been guaranteed by the ruling class with the hope of nudging the readers to take it upon themselves (by embracing the mantra 'thinking globally but acting locally') in order to realize what new historicists call change (Foucault's revolution).

Place appellation

The section identified Jonathan Kariara's "Vietnam" (pp.67-69), Joseph Kariuki's "Sleepless in Angola" (p.72), Ralph Bitamazire's "The Dog in Kivulu" (22), Amin Kassam's "Mombasa"(74), John Mbiti's "New York Skyscrapers" (95), Paul Mukasa-Ssali's "Katebo Port" (104), Rubadiri's "Death at Mulago" (137), and David Wangusa's "Kilembe Mines" (182). Kariara's "Vietnam" and Kariuki's "Sleepless in Angola" has been analysed in details while the remainder have been mentioned in passing.

The first case of appellation is Jonathan Kariara, in 'Vietnam' (pp.67-69). This cry easily pulls the reader's attention to the war in Vietnam (1959-1975) at the point this poem was written. The period of the war in Vietnam paints a gloomy picture of the untold

suffering of the Vietnamese children, men and women in this apparently senseless war whose cause is as perturbing as it is unconvincing. One cannot avoid associating this poem with that war. The American public (viewed from the angle of the anti-war campaigners) was brainwashed by President Johnson in the wake of the assassination of President JF Kennedy (late 1963) into believing that the Vietcong (Vietnamese communist guerrilla forces) were animated by communism and not by nationalism and a desire for self-determination. The United States started sending troops and supplies there in 1964 and by the end of 1965; there were 80,000 American troops in Vietnam. The number had risen to a peak of 543, 000 by 1969.

So this war attained unmanageably galactic proportions. Millions of casualties, destruction of the rice fields of the then poorest Asian country, the bombing of a poor people's huts making them burst forth into flames; the devastating effects of the use of the highly toxic Orange Agent that destroyed the rice fields in order to deprive the NLF (Vietnam) of food supplies and jungle cover, and later use of Napalm on the Viet Minh (Vietcong) guerrillas. The allusion here to this important historical happening during this time (1959 - mid 1975) compares to what was then in most African countries during that time. The poet is indubitably condemning this war. Like the blind actions of Americans in Vietnam that divided the Vietnamese people into two groups, the North who were communist supporters, and the South which the US created to counter the North under Mr. Diem, a brutal dictator and segregationist. The feeling that they had what Foucault sees as a Panopticon (adopted from Bentham), and therefore able to see what was supposed to be happening in Vietnam was fallacious. Africans had similarly suffered the same blow: the blind embrace of the antagonistic politics of the cold-war era whereby in Kenya, the Kenyatta-Mboya axis leaned towards the West while the Odinga-Pinto group leaned towards the East. The effects of the Vietnamese war still haunt the Vietnamese people, just like the effects of the Cold War era still haunt the Kenyan people.

This war in Vietnam is a condemnation of American aggression abroad, something witnessed in the 21st century when America and her ally Britain started a senseless war in Iraq in March, 2003. America still has several hotspots in the world where it is possible for full-scale military conflicts to break out: Iran, North Korea, China, and even Russia. A possibility of a nuclear inferno cannot be ruled out should any of these hotspots degenerate into war, something the writer of this poem indirectly condemns for literature points to what would probably happen.

In Uganda, Amin leaned towards the East and cast tirades at the Israelis denying that the Holocaust ever occurred and declaring himself a champion of the Palestinian cause in the Arab-Israeli conflict. At the symbolic level, both systems have failed in Africa. Mengistu and Nyerere's embrace of communism was a fiasco while Kenya and Uganda too have failed to boast of any meaningful economic development under capitalism. The power struggles we see in New Historicist interpretation of texts (the textualization of history and the historicization of texts) continue nonetheless. The ruling elites are keen on retaining their grip on power while the masses continue to fight to gain their fundamental privileges. The writer, voicing such concerns, appears to be on the side of the struggling masses.

The use of refrain 'in blood' (L.37, 42, 63) is emphatic of the lives that were lost in that senseless war. The poet alludes to the lack of meaningful dossier to support the justification for that war:

This was never to be forgotten
For this was not war
As other wars are wars

The poet here clearly exposes the hypocrisy of the Washington establishment during that war for that was a strange war. The Nixon administration was under huge pressure back home to put an end to the war but still stayed on in Vietnam, notable an tire war voices coming from consciesus objectors (Mohammad Ali) and civil rights leader (Martin Luther King Jr). The administration refused to hearken to the voice of reason: it lost that war and signed the Jan27, 1973 Paris Treaty with the North that saw the Americans withdraw from the South. Vietnam had lost over 3.2 million combatants, Cambodia and Laos (the other South Asian countries that had involved themselves in the conflict) also lost about two million combatants. The United States lost over 58,000 troops, a case of Pyrrhic victory. This can be compared to the Bush administration's invasion of Iraq in the year 2003 only to discover that the Saddam Hussein establishment had no weapons of mass murder. The poet here, through his reference to the Vietnamese case could be sending a warning signal to African politicians, and by extension world leaders against their blind embrace of violence as a means of conflict resolution. The possibility of a repeat event is real for history has a nasty way of repeating itself.

In a rejoinder, Joseph Kariuki, now closer home, talks of Angola in, "Sleepless in Angola" (p.72) whereby president Edwardo Dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi (1934-2002) engaged in an endless war in the second part of the 20th Century. The title, an appellation, immediately draws the readers' attention to Angola. While Santos' MPLA leaned toward Moscow, Savimbi's UNITA leaned toward Washington: the same cold war antics between capitalism and communism on display once more, the power struggles that Foucault is concerned with. The poet presents the two sides, and by extension the two diametrically opposed political figures in a clash that appears aimed at liberating the Angolan people. The reader is left on their own to determine the side to support. The poet here wonders whether this war will ever end: 'will there be a tomorrow? /they no longer sleep'. The use of the rhetorical question expresses the poet's skepticism, perhaps echoing the anxieties among the Angolan people. The tone of finality in 'They can no longer sleep' confirms the poet's fear, which collocates with the title "Sleepless in Angola". The hailing here suggests that the readers (in the world of reality) train their focus on Angola. The reason for this war draws the readers to an important debate that could end in the conclusion that the struggle for self-determination is an altruistic struggle: 'So that by death their children may live/Once again as men-/has called them to resist.' This is ironic for 'They are not alone:/Their moans find echoes in the torn continent.' The poet perhaps detests this war and other such wars in Africa for Africans are at war with themselves. The refrain 'They shall no longer sleep' is satirically used as a mockery of African warlords who engage in wanton plunder of human life and African wealth. Pundits believe that the war in Angola had 'crude oil' as the main bone contention. The writer is in a way presenting the events from a critical tone thus giving the reader leave to either condemn both the warring forces or side with one, for in new historicism, history is interpreted as a subjective reality.

The other equally interesting poems in the anthology where hailing/appellation has

been employed include Ralph Bitamazire's "The Dog in Kivulu"(22) which paints the absurd but credible picture of the life of the people of Kivulu slums adjoining Makerere area of Kampala, Uganda; Amin Kassam's "Mombasa"(74) which reveals the serenity of the coastal town, which is still reverberated in the contemporary time; John's Mbiti's "New York Skyscrapers"(95) in which the poet relives his stay in New York City, and the apparent adulteration of the natural climate which is perhaps his way of attacking the contemporary industrial complexes all over the world that have directly had a negative impact on human health; Paul Mukasa-Ssali's "Katebo Port"(104) where he revisits his childhood adventures at Katebo on the shores of lake Victoria, near Entebbe, Uganda; David Rubadiri's "Death at Mulago"(137) which seems to be the poet's recollection of a patient's death at Mulago Hospital in Kampala, Uganda, and the pain suffered by the patient's friends and family who, sadly, cannot save the life of their beloved; and David Wangusa's "Kilembe Mines"(182) which suggests the huge human cost of mining copper at Kilembe near Kasese, Uganda, and the destruction caused to the adjoining environment, an indirect indictment of the contemporary capitalist world. The poems talk about the poets' experiences at the mentioned places, and/or the human conditions there, all of which attracted their attention. The use of specific names like Kivulu, Mombasa, New York, Katebo, Mulago, and Kilembe tend to specifically turn our attention to these places. The goodness with poetry though is that one does not fail to read the conditions/situations there and associate them with something else they have experienced. Reality in most cases fails to do this, but since poetry suggests/alludes meaning, one can easily correlate experiences from one place to another, and from time to time.

Human names appellation

This study identified Amin Kassam's "Martin Luther King" (p.73), David Rubadiri's "Two Epitaphs" (p.140), and Yusuf Kassam's "Maji Maji" (p.77) for this section. Amin Kassam's poem shifts the readers' attention from African politics to that of the USA. Aside from hailing (as a tribute) the Civil Rights Leader whose name is the title of the poem, the poem is a serious allusion to the war against oppression of Africans by racists world over, and, absurdly, this is more virulent in this century from Asia to Europe to America as far-rightist nationalism voices engulf Europe (read Marine Le Pen's France to Nigel Farage and Boris Johnson post-Brexit Britain) and Trump's United States. Racism is 'the black man's burden and the white man's shame' as Martin Luther King, Jr himself once said in a speech delivered back in 1967, on November the 8th to be exact, entitled 'Transforming a Neighborhood into a Brotherhood' whereby he talks about racism, economic injustice (or poverty), and war (Vietnamese War). On the thematic level, the poem here contributes to African and world politics by calling upon all races (black and white; rich and poor; men and women) to work together as brothers and sisters 'where soil and clouds/Embraced and fused'. Also the use of 'From rocky desert/He curved a valley…' alludes to King's most famous speech 'I Have A Dream' delivered on August28, 1963 when he led a peaceful march between the George Washington Monument and Abraham Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC while calling the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom 'the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history our nation'. The repetition of 'a dream' thrice in this poem echoes King's use of 'I Have A Dream' that is severally repeated throughout his speech. Even though King is a historical figure, he has so often been quoted in fields outside

of history, one such fields being literature. The connect between the two areas of life is glaring. The poet is invariably paying tribute to the freedom fighter who was hailed by the entire world, a man whose vision for a just and humane world made him pay the ultimate price. Does the world still have contemporary Martin Luther Kings?

Away from the USA, Rubadiri mourns his learned friends in "Two Epitaphs" (p.140) who died fighting that Africa might be free. Among the dictionary definitions of epitaph is that it is 'a short speech or piece of writing commemorating the life of a recently deceased person' (Encarta, 2007). Major Christopher Okigbo (1930-1967) was shot dead in Biafra, the 1967 civil war in Nigeria that ended on Jan6, 1970 when Biafra State leader Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu fled to Ivory Coast. An estimated one-three million people died. Okigbo was a renowned writer. His two books *HEAVENSGATE* and *LIMITS* have been cited by the poet here. Rubadiri writes of Okigbo:

HEAVENSGATE
And LIMITS
Who can reach them?
Lead and barrels of heat
Do so easily.
Youth and love
Joy and faith
Have gone through them,
And now our Limits
Because the lights at Heavens Gate
Have departed (p.140)

The poet poses a serious question then gives an answer. The question mark at the end of the question is assertive of the writer's emotional intensity. The period that punctuates the writer's precise answer is also punctuated with the tone of finality. 'Lead and barrels of heat' point to the battle field, lead being the bullet while barrels denote the heavy guns prevalent in this war. The departure of '…the lights at Heavens Gate's signals hopelessness which is antithetical to the preceding hope indicated by the writer's use of 'Youth and love/Joy and faith'. The mood expressed here is indicative of dejection. The people of Biafra state, having been marginalized by the Lagos establishment in the wake of the dawn of independence had to fight for self-determination. This war realistically portrayed the human condition in Africa as barbarically as any war anywhere else in the world could. This poem could therefore be the writer's way of voicing his opposition to the use of war by oppressed peoples as a means to resolving conflicts for such a mechanism only results in an even more confounding loss. The loss of Okigbo to this war for instance is lamentable. The writer is admittedly bitter that Okigbo has passed on and at the same time appears sympathetic to Okigbo's cause.

Okigbo however lived to fulfill 'the philosophy of determined struggle'. This is the reason he strongly believed that taking up arms could truly liberate his people from military dictatorship. This was his way of fighting injustice and oppression in a society where the voice of reason had failed to open the ears and eyes of ruthless dictators, a case of a literary theorist becoming a practitioner. His thinking about justice (text) had thus been historicized

by his direct participation in war. Okigbo is thus transformed from Brustein's (1991) metaphysical hero to a practical revolutionary.

On the other hand, Yatuta Chisiza (1926-1967) was assassinated in Malawi. He was shot by a single bullet to the head after he led a gorilla uprising against the autocratic regime of Kamuzu Banda. Rubadiri is mourning his fellow compatriot in this poem. In the last stanza he says:

> There is much to remember
> and little to forget
> When greatness
> Dies a simple death
> For souls of men. (p.140)

Chisiza had earlier worked as the Minister for Home Affairs in the Banda regime. As one of the fierce critics of the Banda oppression, he fled the country in 1964 and is alleged to have undergone further military training perhaps in China. However his insurrection in 1967 was thwarted resulting in his death. Chisiza died 'a simple death/for souls of men.' The poet wonders how such a 'great' man could die as simply as that. Rubadiri however sees this death as being for a worthy cause. He regards him as a martyr for he died for what he believed. The subsequent repression of the Malawian people by Banda tells the readers what Rubadiri means here: that more Chisiza needed to emerge from among the population and launch an uprising against the despot who had declared himself president for life.

The writer's usage of 'There's much to remember/and little to forget' implies the moral to be learned from the death of Yatuta is worth taking seriously. The challenge is to the masses (taking their cue from Chisiza) to revolt against the evil regime. The short lines on both epitaphs are connotative of the brevity of life and the antecedent urgency of the moment, Rubadiri could have written this piece shortly after the two deaths. The people have got to rise in rebellion against unjust regimes for the time is now. The reactions by these two subjects of Rubadiri's writing, Okigbo and Chisiza, are anti-discourses in Foucaultian terms whereby an oppressed people decide to stand up against their oppressors.

According to Bitek (1973), the problems afflicting our people are 'home-made'. He could not have been more eloquent:

> I believe that most of our social ills are indigenous, that the primary sources of our problems are native. They are rooted in the social set-up. And the most effective solutions cannot be imported, but must be the result of deliberate re-organization of the resources available for tackling specific issues. (Bitek, 6-7)

And on the African regimes, he has this to say:

> The most striking and frightening characteristic of independent Africa governments is this: that, without exception, all of them are dictatorships and practice ruthless discrimination such as makes South African Apartheid look tame. African socialism

> may be defined as government of the people by the educated for the educated. (ibid, 7)

The glaring historicity in Bitek's text is self-evident. Post-independent African regimes have done more to under-develop Africa such that the countries in South America, the Caribbean and Asia, which were on level terms with Africa in the 1960s, 70s and 80s took great strides forward in the area of economic and democratic development leaving Africa basking in the (in)glory of what the West call a basket case.

Yusuf Kassam's 'Maji Maji' (p.77) alludes to the Kinjeketile Ngware led Maji Maji Uprising in German East Africa (now Tanzania) of 1905-1907. The cry 'Maji Maji' hails the war cymbal itself, the magic 'maji' Ngware gave his adherents as an instrument against the German forces. "Maji Maji" is generally a tribute to Kinjeketile himself. The cause of this revolt was a general resentment of harsh colonial policies which included forced labour and ruthless tax collection. The words uttered by the mzee in the poem assume a conversational tone:

> 'The Germans -' He shook his head and shuddered:
> 'Yes, they came – with guns, to be sure –
> Many guns.'

The poem here presents the might of the German forces (read the German war machine) which confounded the old man whom the speaker of the poem is observing:

> Placing both his hands on his head,
> He looked down on the earth and pronounced,
> 'They fired bullets, not water, no, not water.'
> He looked up, with a face crumpled with agony,
> And with an unsteady swing of his arm, he said,
> 'Dead, we all lay dead.'

A.D. Amateshe had this to say about these lines

> …there is also the use of Paradox in the last line to bring out the catastrophic nature of the Maji Maji Rebellion during the colonial days. On the surface level, the whole poem may be regarded as a piece of prose but on a deeper level it has a poetic form which is quite intense and appealing(Amateshe, 7-8).

The poem partly questions the authenticity of Kinjeketile's claim that the magic water given to the resisters in the rebellion would protect them. The speaker further observes mzee's bitterness and remorse: 'He looked up, with a face crumpled with agony.' This observation, coupled with the old man's words, 'Dead, we all lay dead!' is indicative of the fact that the resisters were hugely frustrated at their humiliation by the Germans while at the same time resenting their blind belief that the water could immunize them against German bullets. The dialogue here creates a keen sense of immediacy making the reader experience a personal touch of the events of that war. The events of this war, though based on

superstition, are motivated by the desire by the natives to gain their freedom. It demonstrates their zeal and resolve to gain their freedom. Perhaps the urgency of the moment made them move hastily before they could adequately prepare for a coordinated attack, resulting in their defeat. Though a fiasco, the war was a great demonstration, on the part of the involved tribes of the then German East Africa, of their resolve to stand up on their own two feet and refuse to be subjugated. This nudges oppressed peoples on the continent to rise up against oppression, perhaps the message the poem underscores.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this analysis was anchored on the oppressed people's struggle to gain their dignity, a historical phenomenon as textualized in the poems under this analysis. The poems present a glaring picture of the people's struggle against subjugation from Vietnam to the United States; from German East Africa to Nigeria and Malawi. These historical situations expressed in the poems (textualization of history) have a clear connect to reality. This connect is accessible to the readers. The writers of the poems quoted in this discussion partially appear to have set out to immortalize their subjects in letters. They perhaps could have been very passionate about the subjects of their interest: Yusuf O. Kassam is Tanzanian which perhaps explains his obsession with "Maji Maji"; Amin Kassam began writing poetry in 1966, two years before the death of Dr. King which must have motivated him to write the poem "Martin Luther King" while David Rubadiri, besides immortalizing his compatriot Chisiza, mourns his comrade in letters Christopher Okigbo. The poems appear to motivate the populations in the various parts of the world grappling with oppression and exploitation by the avaricious vicious political class to revolt and create their own new historical realities: New "Maji Maji" revolts must be born on the continent; new "Martin Luther King" must rise up in Africa; new 'Yatuta Chisiza and Christopher Okigbo' must emerge for the oppressed peoples of the world in general and Africa in particular to regain their human dignity.

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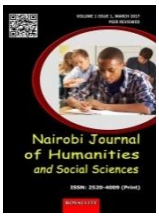

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Beyond the Borders of Silence: A Question of Power in Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus*

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ABSTRACT

Silence is a two edged sword that cuts from both ends. In her text 'Purple Hibiscus', Adichie Chimamanda has used silence as a dramatic technique of power play. Papa Eugene, the Antagonist, is portrayed as a man of limited words who hardly opens his mouth unless he is either ordering, scolding or reprimanding his 'subjects', family members whom he patronizes over with iron fist. The protagonists, Kambili, Jaja and Beatrice are involved in crisis with religious and domestic stakes from the very beginning of the narrative. The regime under their father has not only prevented them from speaking their minds but also from being themselves. Kambili and Jaja are denied the privilege of being teenagers, to feel the unforgettable sexual rush of hormones that represent their transition from childhood to adulthood. The two not only struggle to make their mouths function within the totalitarian temperament of their father's home but also to engage and listen to the eloquent silence of their bodies sexual metamorphosis. it is the objective of the paper to substantiate Adichie's implied meaning of silence and prove its lethal edge as an instrument of revolutionary power. Kambili, Jaja and their mother, Beatrice use a domineering silence as a survival strategy. The technique of silence is conceptualized in order to articulate how power is played by the dominant group to regulate and control the existence of the subservient trio and how they manipulate power to negotiate their existence around the margins. The text is closely examined through the theoretical framework of Michel Foucault's idea of power and Gayatry Spivak's; 'Can the Subalterns speak?'

KEY WORDS
Silence, Power, Subservient, Foucault religion, Freedom

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Introduction

This paper explores the use of power or misuse of it for various reasons by different people. Through the perspectives of Michel Foucault's idea of power and Gayatri Spivak's 'Can the subaltern's speak', the study analyses how Eugene employs power to control and regulate the existence of the subservient group (Beatrice, Jaja and Kambili) around the margins and the way this group attains power and agency in the subversion of silence to negotiate their existence. Silence in Eugene's home is so magnified to the extent that it could be 'heard'. In class, Kambili's tongue can hardly function. Her struggle to express herself usually terminates with a stutter, making her classmates observe her with contempt; she is labeled a 'backyard snob' (53).She is a mute prisoner who is ever dashing away in her father's limousine, a move her classmates call aristocratic arrogance. Like Mosese in Francis Imbuga's 'Betrayal in the city', Eugene's family seems to be privileging silence as the best ship home in the text.

The novel traces the physical and psychological development of the dominated; Beatrice, Jaja and Kambili. A development which designates their struggle to define themselves beyond the stiffened and funless world their Calvinistic husband and father has fashioned for them. It is a world stuffed with materialistic wholeness, a world that lacks ventilation. Papa Eugene, being a phallocentric patriarchal man, believes in the idea of absolute power and its absolute expenditure on his family members. His over- zealous attitude and clipped religious tones reduce members of his family to the size of midgets, or to put it differently, his callousness emanates from a desire not to let his family, especially his children, to experience the bodily pleasure he was denied by the priests while growing up. He therefore assumes that any freedom given to his children would be spent in pursuance of such pleasures. He then does not only lock up their minds, but also locks up their bodies. He works hard to ensure 'comfort' for them; building houses that are capacious yet stifling, the bedrooms are very roomy yet stuffy. Kambili's description of the contrast between their commodious apartment and its airlessness is telling. She says; "Although our spacious dining room gave way to an even wider living room, I felt suffocated (7).

Kambili's words attest to the fact that she detests her father's totalitarian authority over them, what Michel Foucault would refer to as individuating bodies according to their tasks as well as observation and control. Foucault argues that discipline creates a whole new form of individuality for bodies which enable them to perform their duties within the new forms of economic, political and social order. In his concern with power, Foucault pushed to an extreme, the idea of human beings being determined by the conditions of their existence. Eugene's family is in a despotic establishment which in turn reduces it to a resonating silence in almost all their endeavours outside and inside their home.

To get a clear insight into what constitute Eugene's family and its experiences, Foucault's notion of power becomes relevant and appropriate. This is due to the simple reason that through his works, Foucault has tried to move the thinking of power beyond the view of power as an instrument of repression of the powerless by the powerful to an examination of the way that power operates within everyday relations, that even at their most constraining oppressive measures, they are in fact productive, giving rise to new forms of behavior rather than simply closing down or censoring certain forms of behavior (Foucault 1978:33). His works which include: The history of madness (1961), Discipline and

punish (1975), the order of things (1970), The Archeology of knowledge (1972), Power /Knowledge (1980), the history of sexuality (1978) and The Birth of the clinic (1973) are mainly centered on power in its various manifestations. Throughout his career,Foucault focuses on the analysis of the effects of various institutions on groups of people and the role that those people play in resisting those effects.

In the text Purple Hibiscus, Eugene uses power to constrain and repress his wife and children's behaviors. However, instead of totally succumbing to the level of domestic servitude in silence, the three surmount their own body powers to contest the effects in various different ways which eventually prove to be successful even if to a limited extent.

Text analysis

Purple Hibiscus begins with crisis which runs through the text in the most gripping manner. The text traces the physical and psychological struggle of Eugene's wife Beatrice and children Jaja and Kambili. This is a struggle to define them beyond the stiffened and fun less world their selfish father has fashioned for them. Papa Eugene has unscrupulously built around his children and wife, a world stuffed with materialistic wholeness, a world that lacks ventilation, which guarantees a steady relationship with the outside when the inside becomes too suffocating to tolerate. This is in tandem with Foucault's thoughts in his work on "bio- power". He argues that it is at the level of the body that much regulation by the authority is enacted and the body 'refined' to become politically useful (Foucault 1980:98). Looking at the text through Foucault's perspective, it is evident that Eugene uses his authority as the head of his family to regulate and totally control his family members but which eventually triggers a revolution in them.

Chimamanda Adichie, through the 'eye' of the shy, submissive and reticent young Kambili, explores the social, religious and political concerns in the Eastern Nigerian environment; a country that graduated from an obnoxiously corrupt civilian administration to the rule by a monstrous military tyrant. The story revolves around Achike's family, headed by the father, Eugene Achike. He leads a life of rosary and carries himself with a donnish air of catholic superiority. The family suffers a fatal family disintegration emanating from religious fanaticism compounded with patriarchal ideology of gender relations. Male dominance occasioned by both inter and intra gender conflicts form the bedrock of the Achike's, and by extension, many a world families' fatalic gender violence. Through the characters of Eugene, Beatrice, Jaja, Kambili, Ifeoma, Father Amadi, Papa Nnukwu and others, Adichie exposes a family where things are rapidly falling apart despite its social, religious and economic standing.

Eugene owns a fleet of companies of which one is a publishing house reputed for its astuteness and unbiased reportage of the Nigerian political temperament of the military regime in Nigeria. He urges his editor, Ade Coker to ensure that the standard speaks out, yet he continues to muzzle his wife and children. To contest this kind of power, Kambili, Jaja and their mother speak with their spirits, sometimes they converse with their eyes. Kambili's mother hardly talks and when she does, it is in monosyllables. Pauline Ada Uwakweh (1998) observes that:

> Silencing comprises all imposed restrictions on women's social being, thinking and expressions that are religiously or culturally sanctioned. As a patriarchal weapon of

> control, it is used by the dominant male structure on the subordinate or muted female structure (75).

In Purple Hibiscus, silence is not only a mechanism or weapon of patriarchal control but also of domestic servitude. Kambili, Jaja and their mother, have devised ways of survival within the margins that the utilitarian calculus Eugene has created for them. One of the strategies is the domineering silence with which they observe situations and the other is a filial bonding. Through bonding, mother and children are able to survive the domestic quagmire and the prescriptions of the religious zealotry of their father.

At school, Kambili's survival behaviour is misunderstood. For instance, when the closing bell rings, she dashes off to her father's waiting car without exchanging pleasantries with her classmates before she is chauffeur-driven home. Her classmates see this as aristocratic arrogance. They are unaware that her life is dictated and regulated by a schedule scrolled in both her heart and her psyche so that she cannot even feel her own body as a teenage girl. Kambili and her brother, Jaja, have not even experienced the unforgettable teenage years expressed through sexual metamorphosis. Their father, Eugene, is replaying his own pleasure less life through them. A case in point is the episode where Jaja asks for the key to his room after he had just returned from Aunt Ifeoma's place, pleading for a need to have some privacy. The reaction of the father to this request is noteworthy. He automatically assumes that Jaja is only seeking an opportunity to indulge in sexual pleasure with himself: "What? What do you want privacy for? To commit sin against your own body? Is that what you want to do, masturbate?" (198). It is amazing that he thinks that a child he had taken such care to give "sound" religious upbringing would not think of anything else to do in privacy but to masturbate. This is most likely because it is what he would have done at that age and with such opportunity. Thus, he wasn't imprisoning the children because he wanted them to be holy, but instead, because he feared that they were too much like him. For example, after he had poured hot water on Kambili and Jaja's feet for staying in the same house with his father Papa - Nnkwu (whom he considered a heathen), he explains to Kambili that:

I committed a sin against my own body once," he said. "And the good father, the one I lived with while I went to St. Gregory's, came in and saw me. He asked me to boil water for tea. He poured the water in a bowl and soaked my hand in it...I never sinned against my own body again. The good father did that for my own good," he said. (203)

Hence, it is possible that Eugene attempts to justify his actions because his fear is that one level of freedom would only lead to another, and would allow the children to discover a pleasure that had been denied to him. It can also be seen that his confessed self-discovery is at the root of his psychological imbalance. He perhaps would have been a more responsible father if he had been allowed to encounter and deal with the torrent of teenage passion on his own. And if for nothing else, he would have known how to guide his children through the rites of passage of teenage years. It is also not unlikely that his abuse of his family is a vengeful act for what the priest had done to him when he was young and dependent. But now that he had become older and richer and able to wield power of control in his family, his demons are released to punish the innocent for the sins of others. Consequently, his wife bears the most pain in this abuse because she is the one closest to him, the most dependent on him, and yet grateful to him because he decided not to marry

another wife.

As mentioned, Eugene's callousness is couched in the garb of religion, and in his view, anything that draws attention to the body or makes it attractive to look at is considered sin. Kambili therefore must cover her long and beautiful hair; she must conceal her lovely athletic legs; she must in no way embellish her face; and she must not look at the nakedness of another person, male or female, for all these were considered sin. However, as the narration nears its denouement, Kambili begins to emerge from the high walls of prison that her father had built around her. Through her body power, as Foucault would say, she is slowly peeling off the mask to discover her true identity as a teenage girl living in a social world. Gayatri Spivak would credit her for self-recognition and speaking beyond the borders of silence.

Kambili's discovery of herself evolves in gradual phases. First, she learns to look at the nakedness of another human being like her by staring at Papa-Nnukwu's naked form while watching him pray. She stands fascinated at his nakedness, even taking particular note "that his nipples were like dark raisins nestled among the sparse grey tufts of hair on his chest" (169). This is a far cry from her initial reaction at the sight of someone's nakedness. Seeing Amaka undress on her very first day in Aunt Ifeoma's house, Kambili could only imagine that she "looked like a Hausa goat: brown, long, and lean" (25), a rather unusual comparison stemming from her non familiarity with such a sight. Of course, she quickly looks away because "it was sinful to look upon another person's nakedness" (125-6). However, after only a few days in the house, she peeps at Papa-Nnukwu and confesses: "I did not look away, although it was sinful to look at another person's nakedness" (175).

Kambili's initial reaction is not surprising, considering that she had even been brought up not to look at herself, or much more to look at someone else. As much as she wanted to, she couldn't bring herself to look at and admire herself in shorts because it would be vanity, and "vanity was a sin."(187). It was then apparent that Eugene has managed to use the power of religion to subdue and control Kambili's feelings. Her sense of guilt, spelt out through the word SIN, is so strong that she has to shed it off gradually to reclaim her true self.

It is worthy to note that Kambili becomes well on her way to emancipation only when she becomes comfortable with her own body and conscious of that of others. Her fast movement towards the break from the mental chains her father had put on her is premised majorly on her decision to lay aside her religiosity and let her body respond to the attractiveness of another person.

Undoubtedly, we also learn that Kambili's attraction to Father Amadi is from the very beginning a physical one. During his second visit to Aunt Ifeoma's, she notices "the way his hair lay in wavy curls on his head, like the ripples in a stream" (170). By the time he comes to pick her up for the soccer game, her awareness of him had graduated to the threshold of sensuality. She reflected thus:

> His shorts seemed longer the last time I saw him in them, well past his knees. But now they climbed up to expose muscular thigh sprinkled with dark hair. The space between us was too small, too tight. I was always a penitent when I was close to a priest at confession. But it was hard to feel penitent now, could not focus on my sins, could not think of anything except how near he was" (175).

There is no doubt that it is Kambili's never-to-be-consummated attraction to Father Amadi that helps in unlocking her potentials. His notice of her legs made her join the volleyball group on the second day of school despite the whispers and ridiculing laughter from her fellow students. In fact, her recovery after the near-fatal beating her father gave her can be attributed to the impact of her encounter with Father Amadi. In some form of internal monologue, she relieves her thoughts thus:

> He picked up the water bottle, drank deeply from it. I watched the ripples in his throat as the water went down. I wished I were the water, going into him, to be with him, one with him. I had never envied water so much before. His eyes caught mine, and I looked away, wondering if he had seen the longing in my eyes (226-227).

Visibly Kambili is undergoing sexual metamorphosis, what in the thinking of Foucault would be looked at as the power of her body eventually overcoming all the feelings of restrictions put upon her body by her father, that is, the power of body overcoming power over bodies. Her body is gradually taking its own trajectory. She is able to surmount her own body power to overturn the oppressive power of her father. She is able to appreciate the aesthetics of her sexually ripe body and not see it in terms of sin like her father had made her to believe. Spivak on the other hand would credit Kambili for breaking her silence and speaking through her body power; the subalterns are speaking after all.

Eugene's sense of production enunciates his stance both as a capitalist and a phallocentrist. This is especially seen when from time to time he brings a new product home from his factories to be assessed by his reticent family which he has turned into a pathetic doping machine. This phallic and capitalist drive is extended to his children's academic enterprise. Coupled with the sickening and choking home characterized by her father's sense of material acquisition, Kambili's academic business begins to lack creativity and enchantment. Both her home and school become a prison for her, as she slips down the academic ladder. The kind of educational system Eugene wants for his children is dehumanizing. He is mechanical in all spheres of life, and he condemns and discourages all forms of leisure. When Kambili comes second in her class rather than encourage the girl to put more effort into her academic business, he petulantly asks a mechanical question. "How many heads has Chinwe Jideze?,"the girl who beats her to the second position. He didn't stop there, he brings out a mirror and gives it to Kambili, to ascertain the number of heads she has. For fear of being tortured, Kambili devices a new method of studying:

> It was like balancing a sack of gravel on my head every day at school and not being allowed to steady it with my hand. I still saw the print in my textbooks as a red blur, still saw my baby brother's spirit strung together by narrow lines of blood. I memorized what the teachers said because I knew my textbooks would not make sense if I tried to study later. After every test, a tough lump like poorly made fufu formed in my throat and stayed there until our exercise books came back (52).

Eugene's educational standards are not only placidly faulty, it is banal and unproductive; hence Kambili turns the entire academic enterprise to cramming and calculation. The

educational standard stresses the training of the intellect without any complementary ties with the emotion and imagination. To him only the human reason is important. Kambili and Jaja's lives are reduced to facts and figures thereby subjecting them to mental torture. From Kambili's account, her father stands for something repellent though respectable. His utilitarian posture is what eventually leads to the crumbling of his family's psychological configuration. Eugene is a symbol of rugged individualism. His entire world is woven around self-assertion, power and material success. The items in his agenda are strict and tight, making him lack interest in ideals or ideas, except the idea of being the perfect definition of a self-made man. This is what he uses to intimidate his family as he rightfully confesses, "I didn't have a father who sent me to the best schools" (49). He is therefore bitter and inhuman to the extent that he regards his house help, Sisi, as "that girl". All through the novel, he never addresses her by her name.

Due to patriarchal power manipulations to torture female bodies, the woman has been reduced to commodity status and is likened to a jute sack of rice flung over a man's shoulder, while the male has been given the macho characteristics of a fierce Fulani nomad; a no nonsense man who would not hesitate to tear apart the bodies of those he dominate hence inflictin maximum physical and psychological pain in the victim. However, this macho presentation does not seem to include the marginalized Jaja and papa Nnku. To Eugene, they are all 'women' and must be treated so.

Looking at Purple Hibiscus through the lens of Foucault's idea of power, we encounter a society in which power is played at various levels: Domestic, Social, Political and Religious levels among others. At each respective level, power is manipulated to serve individual, groups or institutions' interests.

At domestic level, Adichie exposes to the reader an economically, religiously and politically correct family of Achike, headed by the father, Eugene Achike. Though wearing a mask of ideal happy family to the public for convenience , the family is suffering a quiet fatal disintegration due to patriarchal and religious power manipulations.

Eugene who is the head of this family is a religious fanatic who uses patriarchal ideologies of male domination to unscrupulously reinforce Christian values in to his family members. As Adichie puts it, things begun to fall apart in this family when Jaja refuses to receive the ritualistic Christian holy communion. Violent erupts between Jaja and his father Eugene. Eugene hurls a missal at Jaja but misses him to hit the glass étagère, Beatrice's precious possession of ceramic figurines of ballet dancers which she possessively polish quite often.

Justifying his action, Jaja says "the wafer gives bad breath and the priest keeps touching my mouth" (6). Jaja is trying to assert himself as an individual with individual difference from his father. Simply put, he seems to be telling his father that he does not have to do as he commands because he (Jaja) is his own person. Jaja is clearly contesting his father's authority as he tries to create another centre of power; the power of reason or knowledge as Foucault may put it. He says; such a power of the body opposes the power over bodies, and thereby represents, for Foucault, the source of revolution (Foucault 1972:156). Rather than remain silent and suffocate under Eugene's authoritative domineering power, Jaja projects a voice of rebellion to enable him survive. He is determined to wade off the domestic quagmire and the prescriptions of the religious zealotry of their father. He reinforces his rebellious stand by remaining rooted to the same

spot despite his father trying to hit him with the missal. Instead, it is his father who swayed under the impact of his own rage. The narrator says "Jaja did not move. Papa swayed from side to side" (7).

When writing on the impact of institutional and discursive forces on the body, Foucault suggests that the body should be seen as the focus of a number of discursive pressures; the body is the site on which discourses are enacted and where they are contested (1978-1986).This notion is realized in the person of Beatrice, Eugene's wife. In silence,"

She stared at the figurine pieces on the floor and then knelt and started to pick them up with her bare hands. The silence was broken only by the whir of the ceiling fan as it sliced through the still air (7).

Having absorbed the effect of Eugene's domineering power over them, in silence, the power of her own body then springs to play against Eugene's power by breaking the deadly silence and restoring normalcy. She orders her children Jaja and Kambili and her husband Eugene to various chores respectively. She tells them:

> Nne, Ngwa. Go and change. Mama said to me, startling me although her Igbo words were low and calming. In the same breath, without pausing, she said to papa, "Your tea is getting cold", and to Jaja, "come and help me biko" (8)

Kambili says she suffocated in the tension marked by the silence. However, it is necessary to point out that despite the intra and inter gender conflicts depicted in this scene, there is also evidence of gender complimentarity which is seen through the efforts of Beatrice and Jaja in cleaning up the mess and restoring some order just as the narrator puts it , " Jaja knelt beside mama, flattened the church bulletin he held into a dustbin and placed a jagged ceramic piece on it. (8).

This complimentarity is further reinforced by Jaja's concern over the mother's well-being. This is evidently conveyed through his words "Careful; mama, or those pieces will cut your fingers" (8).Filial bonding between mother and son or complimentarity as one may call it, is one of the strategies employed by the Achike family to subvert oppression and domination for the necessary ventilation. Jaja does not talk of the bribe deal between the federal government and Eugene which he overheard. Mama does not accuse Eugene for breaking her figurines and Kambili says "I'm sorry your figurines broke" instead of what she had earlier on intended to say. "I'm sorry Papa broke your figurines (10). In the same breath, Kambili does not come out openly to listen to her father's conversation with his guests instead she eaves drops. This shows the determination by Kambili, among others to break the doctrinaire attitude of their father which creates a cyst- around them.

Even within this circumscribed space, Kambili continues her quest for her voice through eaves dropping. She tries to make sense of her father's conversation with his guests whenever they come calling. The process towards locating her voice begins with what would have been a normal ritual of another silent Christmas celebration if her aunt Ifeoma had not shown up with her family. The process of creating her own voice begins with Kambili's location of her mouth, which has been in a perpetual state of incapacity. Ifeoma's presence in Aba during the Christmas celebration is fumigating, because the vector of silence that has clipped Kambili's lips and the cyst shielding rays of humanity from her life

begins to shade into a mincing voice. The conservative mindset of their father makes them observe anything he labels as evil abominable to them without any rational or dialectical questioning. Kambili's doughty aunt, Ifeoma becomes a symbol of the iconoclastic identity and demystifier of patriarchal and despotic establishments.

Though a catholic devotee like Kambili's father, Ifeoma creates the leeway that would give her brother's family leverage from domestic servitude. Since her perception of religion is at variance with her brother's, it is not surprising that the conflict between the two of them subtly detonates on the dining table. Eugene almost blinds his family with prayers during lunch. It is only the ebullient Ifeoma who is able to express the implication of lengthy prayers at meals: "Did you want the rice to get cold, Eugene?" She belongs to the category of women who Rosemary Moyana (1996) describes as "women who refuse to be compartmentalized into their chiseled up roles" (30). Eugene only grants his children audience with their grandfather for fifteen minutes. Anything more is abominating and sinful and must be confessed before the priest for remission of sin. From their father's prayers and remarks, they conclude that their grandfather must be very paganistic.

Eugene would not allow his father into his premises because their religious beliefs are polar- a polarity which is characterized by a kind of inverse correlation. It is Ifeoma who gives Kambili and Jaja the exclusive benefit of knowing their grandfather beyond the atheistic portraiture their father has cartographed in their mind. Kambili observes her grandfather, Nnukwu with filial attachment from a distance because she has been zipped up by her father's doctrinaire stance towards Papa Nnukwu, which is informed by Kambili's father's inebriated sense of religion. Ifeoma is able to discern the cosmetic life her callow nephew and niece are leading. She observes that their expressions are glacial unlike her children who have plenary rights to converse inside and outside their home. In order to initiate an osmotic pressure in their lives, she prescribes a trip to Nsukka, for Kambili and Jaja, a trip that marks an eclipse of Eugene's unbridled religious hegemony. Although Eugene's acquiescence to this proposal is a welcome development to their mother, he gives them a schedule they would strictly adhere to, because the schedule becomes a symbol of his authority and their mainstay.

"Things actually started to fall apart" when Kambili and Jaja embarked on the trip to Nsukka. Ifeoma's house boisterously glows, yet it is not obstreperous. On arrival to Nsukka Kambili and Jaja are stunned by the polarity between the frolicking temperament that pervades the cramped apartment in Nsukka and their forlornly existence even in the midst of everything that should make life relishing. Kambili becomes confused by the untrammeled grace with which everybody carries himself or herself in the house. Her inability to comprehend this disposition makes her dissolve even further into silence.

At domestic level, Eugene resorts to exercising the power to punish his family members. The narrator says:

> Papa was like a Fulani nomad. As he swung his belt at mama, Jaja and me, it landed on Jaja first, a cross his shoulder. Then mama raised her hands as it landed on her upper arm, which was covered by the puffy sequined sleeve of her church blouse. I put the bowl down just as the belt landed on my back (102).

Eugene did this to repress feelings and actions of his family members so that they just

follow his orders and demands blindly. He does what Michel Foucault refers to as torture of bodies. He says, those bodies must be individuated according to their tasks as well as training, observation and control…Discipline creates a whole new form of individuality for bodies which enable them to perform their duty within the new forms of economic , political and military organizations emerging in the modern age and continuing today. Foucault (1977:93)

Eugene expects total submission and loyalty from his family members to feed his patriarchal religious fanaticism ego. To Eugene, little Kambili would rather go to church in an empty cramps racked belly than eat a little corn flakes to hold panadol in her stomach because this would conform to Christian values . He ends up beating up Kambili and all her sympathizers like Jaja and mama. He succeeds in turning Kambili and Beatrice into masked human zombies that only exist to please him. For instance, no one accuses him for breaking Beatrice's figurines. The women are used to keeping mumb and only speak through silence.

The two women also force out false compliments for Eugene's new product from his factory. Kambili and Beatrice have to always say what Eugene wants to hear but inside they perfect a gnawing silence that is full of power resistance. This is the concept of power that Foucault talks about as the way of the body's own power, the body's own force of will and desire. He argues that such power of the body opposes the power over bodies hence the source of all revolution. In deed there is revolution in the text, Beatrice obtains poison through Sisi and the two women work together to eliminate Eugene. This is a practice that has become very common in the contemporary society. Many women have resorted to eliminating their husbands as a means to freedom. This method of gaining freedom may not be right against the backdrop of societal norms but it is a point of departure from patriarchal domination and oppression

Can the subaltern's speak? Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak suggests that it is impossible for us to recover the voice of the subaltern or oppressed subject. However, a radical critic Michel Foucault, she says, is prone to believing that the oppressed subjects can speak for themselves. Jaja and Kambili eventually get their voices audible and can enjoy some liberty. Their teenage development becomes complete at nsukka because for the first time Kambili's mouth performs almost all its functions. She smiles, talks, cries, laughs, jokes and sings. Through Ifeoma, Kambili discovers Papa Nnukwu's sense of pantheism, as she watches him from a distance commune with his [G]ods- an occasion which proves the old man a better believer, who understands the intricate arithmetic of religion, most especially, the relationship between God and man, thereby disproving and debunking her father's stony fundamentalism. For the very first time they live a life not dictated by schedule, though the items in the schedule are concretely engraved in their hearts. Ifeoma consigns her nephew and niece's schedules and customizes them to her world; a world characterized by the application of the commonest of senses. In Ifeoma's house everybody has the liberty to say anything, provided elders are not insulted.

This enthusiasm with which discourses are introduced and sustained is not only mind boggling to Kambili, but also causes consternation in her psyche. Through Father Amadi she discovers a new brand of Catholicism, which is not mechanical and dictatorial but lithe, which is a direct contrast to the one her father and Father Benedict practice, one which makes room for dissent. Father Amadi discerns with relative ease that Kambili is gnomic, even though she is conditioned by the ritualized sense of religion her father has created for

her. He devices a means with which to wring her from her silent space. Since her sense of Catholicism is ritualistic, and Jesus or God becomes the common denominator, it becomes apparently glaring that she will be willing to do anything provided it is associated with God or Jesus. Through this device, Father Amadi cracks her frozen sense of comportment and broke through her programmed psychic networking. Father Amadi takes advantage of her dogmatic naivety as she falls for the bait and runs for it:

> Do you love Jesus?" Father Amadi asked, standing up. I was startled. "Yes. Yes, I love Jesus"." Then show me. Try and catch me, show me you love Jesus." He had hardly finished speaking before he dashed off and I saw the blue flash of his tank. I did not stop to think; I stood up and ran after him. (176)

As Father Amadi continues to cosset her, she beams her first smile, though icy, it is a process towards emancipation. On their way home, Kambili opens her mouth and laughs a mirthless laugh. At the time her grandfather dies she is only beginning to know him. Her aunt's children and Jaja seem to be closer to him, but she was too distant- a fact she hates herself for. Amaka, her cousin, gives her the uncompleted painting of their grandfather she did, while he was alive, a painting, which symbolizes something she earnestly desires but cannot have. She handles the painting sacredly as their father takes them home to Enugu, the painting, which becomes the link, between her aunt's world, and Enugu.

The rift in the novel begins when they return home from Nsukka, while they are mid-way in their metamorphosis. Invariably, this is when everything begins to changec for instance,. Jaja asks for the key to his room, which has been in the possession of their father. The request marks the beginning of their quest for emancipatory rights. Their father, who is astounded by this demand, decides to take pragmatic and overt steps to ensure he un-teaches his children that have been removed from the borderline of his doctrinaire standards. As a means of cleansing from the sinful dust of Nsukka and the paganistic temperament of the air of Ifeoma's home, he bathes Kambili's feet in hot water. The cleansing rituals did not produce the elutriating effects Eugene desires. As stated earlier, both kids brought with them different items from their aunt's. Jaja brings seeds of purple hibiscus while Kambili brings the uncompleted painting of their grandfather. Both items represent freedom from the rigid life style of their father's world.

With these items, they are to sustain a steady link with their aunt's airy world en route liberation. With these items they hope never to plunge into the borders of frustration, disillusionment, alienation, and the existential solitude of the world they know too well. The items will help cram the vacuum created in their lives. Kambili's painting is suddenly, discovered by her father as she and her brother are admiring their grandfather. Like the extremist that he is, Eugene takes the painting from his children who claim ownership of the painting simultaneously. Stunned by this development, Eugene destroys the painting as if it is Papa Nnukwu himself. Kambili could not hold back anymore. She is not ready to watch her father tare something she holds sacred from her just like that. She is not willing to observe her father truncate the stable transition of her development, which the painting will help her realize even within the circumscribed radius of her father's walls. The painting symbolizes freedom to her and at the same time the remains of her grandfather which she never had while he was alive. She hurriedly begins to piece the destroyed painting on the

floor together solemnly. Her father cannot believe his daughter can degenerate to such low ebb of heathenism. Like Louisa in Dickens' Hard Times who collapses before her father, a condemnation and disintegration of the unproductive upbringing that her father, Grad grind has given her, Kambili remains in her solemn state in order to string the pieces together.

The furtiveness with which she handles the painting embarrasses everything her father stands for. He becomes stunned at the confutation of his conservative religious standards, an occasion where he is completely subdued by the first shocking witness of the result of his rigid religious matrix; Kambili's handling of the pieces of the painting symbolizes the collapse of his father's system. Rather than realize and admit that his philosophy is in human and inefficacious, with a doleful expression on his face, he degenerates into an uncontrollable fit of anger and duffs her up heavily, until she falls unconscious. The trip to Nsukka becomes a domino effect on the developmental process of the children. Contrary to Anthony Oha (2007) contestation on the passivity of Kambili, he erroneously contends that "Kambili is not a contributor character. She never acted to change neither her situation nor the things around her" (207).

To have pieced the torn portrait of her grandfather destroyed by her father is a potent statement of her assertion of her identity and an indication that she has transversed her limitations; at this point she is no longer a victim but an actor. Through this incident Kambili succeeds in breaking out of the social and religious silence of her earlier life. She declines to acquiesce the status quo- escaping from her entrapment, by debunking her father's authority, a definitive statement of rebellion against the phallocentric and autocratic set up.

Kambili is able to show her feelings of love for father Amadi and was even able to discuss her feelings. She is going through sexual metamorphosis. Kambili now has a chance to recognize her sexuality. Amaka is not shy to discuss sex, a topic many look at as a taboo. She is also able to express her thoughts on the corrupt way of treating people in the prisons through letter writing.

Ifeoma is able to freely talk of her overseas play even after her job is terminated illegally by university authority. And finally, Beatrice is able to speak her mind concerning the mourning of her husband.

Looking at the events as they unfold in Purple Hibiscus through the lens of 'Can the subaltern speak?' , we encounter a patriarchal ideology of Gender Relations, exercised through psychological and physical violence against the marginalized with women taking centre stage . From the beginning , Beatrice does not oppose anything her husband says or does, even when it means Eugene beating Jaja for not receiving holy communion, Eugene breaking her figurines, her going into father Benedict's house despite her feeling unwell just to please Eugene, her offering to serve Eugene's tea but instead meeting rejection, her being beaten in the bedroom in silence exectra...However, as the text comes to its denouement , we realize that the women are not as docile and submissive as they may appear, that behind the submissive façade, are strong restless women looking for space for self-emancipation.

This is especially evident in Beatrice's confession for having killed Eugene. She admits having used poison as she tells her son, jaja: "I started putting the poison in his tea before I came to Nsukka. Sisi got it for me; her uncle is a powerful witchdoctor" (290). The calm and confidence she exuded at her confession is very telling of her justifiable stance. To some

extent, Beatrice seem to share on the thinking of Carol Gilligan, a psychoanalyst feminist who, when discussing the advantages of a different voice for women in The Feminist Case for and Against Women's Morality, argues that when making a moral decision, women espouse a somewhat more consequentialist point of view, calculating the effects of the moral agent's action on all who will be touched by it (162). Beatrice believes that her elimination of her husband Eugene is synonymous to an elimination of an obstacle to independence and self-emancipation of members of her nuclear family.

Kambili eventually throws in the towel and faces her intense sexual feelings for Father Amadi. He evokes raw intense sexual feelings in Kambili when he says to her, "you have good legs for running: You should practice more". To Kambili, it seemed too close, too intimate, "to have his eyes on my legs, on any part of me" (183). Her sexual anticipation is expressed very simply: "His body touching mine was tense and delicious" (776). It is also subtly expressed with metaphors as in "He picked up the water bottle, drank deeply from it. I watched the ripples in his throat as the water went down. I wished I were the water, going into him."(231).

Kambili's newly acquired freedom of expression culminates into what seems to add to the image of sexual foreplay:

> Father Amadi ran his hand over the loosening braids, in gentle, smoothing motions. He was looking right into my eyes. He was too close. His touch was so light I wanted to push my head toward him, to feel the pressure of his hand. I wanted to press his hand to my head, my belly, so he could feel the warmth that coursed through me. (232).

Kambili's transformation is also depicted through her defiance to her father when she pieced the torn portrait together (253). The change in Jaja is marked by his asking for the key to his room, which has been in the possession of their father. The request marks the quest for emancipatory rights.

In the unfolding events, it is evident that the subalterns can also speak. Beatrice's voice took shape as soon as she hatched the plan and obtained the poison. She has exercised what Foucault refers to as power of body over bodies. She has manipulated her own body power to eliminate the powerful oppressive Eugene and get her own space and voice.

Conclusion

The unfolding events in Adichie's text, Purple Hibiscus, are best summarized by what Michel Foucault say on power over bodies and of bodies. He suggests that the body should be seen as the focus of a number of discursive pressures. The body is the site on which discourses are enacted and where they are contested. (Foucault (1978-1986). The dominant master of power manipulation papa Eugene, employs silencing not only as a mechanism or weapon of patriarchal control but also of domestic servitude over his wife and children. His power welding personality is as a result of several contradictory discourses upon his body. The author describes him as the most amusing character because he is a pack of contrast. For instance, he is so religious that he is unable to draw the lines between social responsibility and religious commitment. He forbids his family from identifying with traditional tenets yet

he takes the traditional title 'Omelora'. He admonishes members of his immediate family not to bow before any mortal being, yet when Kambili proudly refuses to bow before Father Benedict during communion he spanks her. He refuses to marry a second wife, when his wife is unable to give birth to more children even when his relatives heavily pressure him, yet he does not treat his wife as a partner in the matrimonial enterprise. His barbarous act makes his wife suffer chains of miscarriages. His missal, which is supposed to be sacred, judging from his parochial sense of religion, becomes a missile which he throws at Jaja, thereby destroying the figurines on the étagère. This scene sums up the entire narrative. As the figurines go down, the foundation of his family begins to crumble and everything about him begins to have a downward trajectory.

The shards of the figurines represent the gradual disintegration of his authority in his home and the gradual fragmentation of the organic and psychological wholeness of his family. His fussy sense of Christianity is anchored on just heaven, hell and sin, so that when Papa Nnukwu dies the only question that comes to his mind is. "Did you call a priest to give him extreme unction?"(188). How can Ifeoma initiate Papa Nnukwu into Christianity at death, when it is expected of the initiate to be conscious of the initiation rite and process?

He is blinded by his religious dogmatism, his high handedness that he does not see beyond his warped philosophical cum religious standards, which are wrecking his home. As noted earlier, Adichie creates a vent in Eugene's household from where she explores the Nigerian nationhood and the plight of the ruled. Eugene's home becomes a microcosmic of the entire Nigerian nation. Eugene's hegemonisitic cum religious rule coupled with his idiosyncratic posture articulately parallels the despotic disposition and histrionics of General Ibrahim Babangida's regime. Adichie satirizes various aspects of society. The satirical methods she employs include exaggeration, irony, sarcasm and contrast. Just like Eugene gives his children fleeting moments with their grandfather, Papa Nnukwu, a character symbolic of democratic ideals, which connotes freedom. So also the military regime deceptively initiates a transition programme that would return Nigeria to a democratic state. Just like Eugene is a pack of contrast, the head of state, a military ruler insisted on being addressed as a president, and ensured he never uses his beret. He orchestrated a transition programme which he truncated at the point fruition. No ruler in the history of Nigeria has ever pursued democracy with such enthusiasm denuded of forthrightness- little wonder he was never forthcoming.

Eugene employs this power to regulate the existence of the subservient group around the margins and how the subservient group attains power and agency in the subversion of the weapon of domination to negotiate their existence. Power contestation becomes a reality in their lives. Eventually they rid themselves of Eugene; he is poisoned by his own wife and the house girl. Jaja and Kambili find their voice and are able to express their feelings. The subalterns have been able to speak and redefine their spaces and identities.

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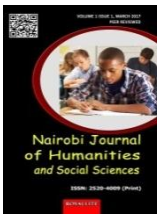

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Artistic Expressions as Conflicts Resolution Process: A Study of Selected Works

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ABSTRACT

Conflicts occur within and between nations, societies, and individuals—and for this reason; conflicts resolution also thrives on artistic expressions and cultural productions which are also found in societies. This essay examines the role of artistic expressions in conflicts resolution and significantly views it as a process. This is because while works of art may not immediately instil peace, they have the propensity to initiate conversations, actions, and re-actions which could eventually lead to peace-building. In this essay, artistic expressions are limited to poetry and music and focuses on excerpts from the poetry of Ben Okri, Uche Peter Umez, Audre Lorde, and the musical works of Nigerian All Star Ensemble, The Beatles, and Todd Rundgren whose artistic works have direct thematic relevance to this discourse.

Key words: *Art, Conflict, Conflicts Music, Peace, Peace-building, Poetry, Resolution*

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Theoretical Background: An Introduction

For many years, a significant number of research scholars in diverse academic disciplines have been propelled to engage in peace and conflicts resolution studies and research in response to conflicts, wars, displacements, and other inhuman conditions in many parts of the world. In effect, some of these studies not only serve historical purposes for posterity, but also catalyses the process of understanding conflicts, conflicts resolution, and peace processes in order to restore and promote peaceful co-existence in communities and nations. First, it is imperative to understand that conflicts and conflicts resolution are distinct in meaning and significations. Wallenstein in Okorie (2016, p.17) argues that "conflict is derived from the Latin word 'conflictus' which means to clash or engage in a fight. It is therefore a confrontation between one or more parties with clashing, irreconcilable or competing interest." O'Connell (2010) views conflict as an outcome of economic inequality and social disparity which leads to violence (p.2). In addition, Burton in O'Connell (2010, p13) argues that "whatever the definition we have of conflict, wherever we draw the line, right down to family violence, we are referring to situations in which there is a breakdown in relationships and a challenge to norms and authorities." Ajayi & Buhari (2014) argue that although there is no single definition of conflict in the African context, conflicts could mean rage, rift, misunderstanding, family and market brawls, skirmishes and wars, public insurrections and assaults, chieftaincy and boundary disputes (p.140). These views suggest that beyond confrontations between two parties, there must be causes of confrontations which are often followed by harsh outcomes and repercussions. From O'Connell's view, the most common repercussion is violence which, in a bid to resolve and end its effects, conflicts resolution process is engaged in order to restore peace. Here, I would argue that considering Burton's view, conflicts are not exclusively limited to confrontations between two nations or communities, but can also exist in the smallest unit of the society—which is the family, and even exist within individual persons. Conflicts resolution comes as a process that institutes peace among conflicting individuals, families, societies, and/or nations.

Burton in O'Connell (2010) posits that "Conflict resolution is, in the long term, a process of change in political, social and economic systems. It is an analytical and problem solving process that takes into account such individual and group needs such as identity and recognition, as well as institutional changes that are required to satisfy these needs" (p.13). Okorie (2016, p. 28) takes this definition further by proposing that conflicts resolution is guided by three significant worldviews which include The Harvard Approach, The Human Needs Theory Approach, and The Conflict Transformation Approach. Okorie further argues that "conflict resolution is therefore important in not only bringing warring or hostile parties to a negotiation table, but is an important prelude to building lasting peace between former adversaries" pp.27-28. Ajayi & Buhari (2014, p.152) argue that "conflict resolution promotes consensus-building, social bridge reconstructions, and the re-enactment of order in the society." In addition, Hagg & Kagwanja (2008, p.21) argue that "in a number of instances, conflicts resolution initiatives based on the liberal peace principles have brought an end to violent conflict and created platforms for reconciliation." From all propositions and arguments by these scholars, one of the significant points is that conflicts resolution is a process for restoration of peace. However, some have argued that the mere absence of war or conflict does not suggest the existence of peace (see Okorie

2016; Wallensteen 2002). According to Okorie (2016, p.8), "peace is now measured by how state citizens living in a country are compared to other societies." From the foregoing, it is pertinent to note that being a process; some of the conflicts resolutions strategies do not in themselves guarantee peace. Rather, they introduce a platform for negotiations, deliberations, and in some cases, pleading to the conscience and minds of conflicting groups to resolve their differences. For instance, there have been cases where warring nations ended up in another bloodier war after peace talks and signing of peace treaties (see Okorie 2016; Wallensteen 2002).

This essay examines the role of artistic expressions which, in their own rights, are works of imagination and cultural production—as a process of resolving conflicts and restoring peace. This means that while these works of art may not in themselves bring immediate resolutions to conflicts, they are catalysts of peace and their roles cannot be downplayed in societies where works of imagination and cultural productions hold forth. To be clear, artistic expressions referred to in this essay are poetry and music. This essay will focus on the poetry of Ben Okri, Uche Peter Umez, Audre Lorde, and the musical works of Nigerian All Star Ensemble, The Beatles, and Todd Rundgren because of their works' have thematic relevance in this discourse.

Artistic expressions in conflicts resolution: a process

Artistic expressions which have direct relevance in the resolution of conflicts affirm the functional role of works of art. While the Art for Art's sake theorists and proponents argue for art works to be self-sufficient and non-utilitarian, there are other schools of thought who not only argue for the functionality of art works, but also engage in the production of such works which add values in societies. I would argue that both music and poetry, beyond being artistic, sometimes mirrors a society and critically engages in discourses that will effect positive change and transformation. Nduka (2013) affirms this proposition by arguing that poets and musicians are artists who are also concerned and influenced by events that stir up their imagination and creativity (p.133). In effect, a poet or musician who lives in a conflict area or war-torn zone might be inspired to create works that will speak against the inhuman conditions and deaths that occur in the area. In this case, the artist becomes a voice for people whose voices may be barely heard in such conditions. Galtung in Senehi (2002) argues that "one of the main goals for peace activists is to facilitate and amplify the voices of those who are not being heard" P.42. On this premise, the poet or musician becomes or serves as a peace activist considering his works of art which promotes peace. This also underscores the significant place of arts in peace activism. Senehi (2002, p.42) argues that "since the inception of peace studies and conflict resolution fields, theorists and practitioners have recognized the significance of both imagination and an analysis of culture for understanding social conflicts and their resolution". Jessica Senehi's argument validates the place of artistic works as products of imagination in the process of conflicts resolution. With reference to culture and cultural understanding, in a sense, artistic works are products of culture in the sense that there are socio-cultural ideologies embedded in them (see Nduka 2016; Steinholt 2003; Onuora-Oguno 2013; Hawkins 1996; Asigbo & Okeke 2014; Okafor 2005; Nzewi 2007). Artistic responses to conflicts takes advantage of cultural and cross-cultural significations to appeal to conflicting groups, create understanding, and introduce the process of peace restoration. Senehi (2002) reports that 'in Mozambique, the

UNICEF-funded "circle of peace" used traditional music, art, and drama to teach peace-building to children" p.51. In addition, Shenk (2002) reports that Lederach and Herm Weaver have used stories and songs as what they refer to as "small response" to terrorism and war in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks in the US. While they may consider their response to be "small", audiences who listen to their creative works will find them useful to an extent, thus, contributing to the process of peace promotion. Jessica Senehi also tells a story of how a high school changed the world by reaching out to Middle Easterners in their community after listening to a story performed as a song and accompanied with musical instruments by Lederach. This response by the students affirms the efficacy of an artistic work in peace-building, basic human understanding and relationships, and reconciliation.

Presenting a critical discourse on Albanian songs and the efficacy of music in peace-building, Sugarman (2010) reports:

> Wars require that communities overlook differences in background and orientation so as to act as a united group. In this respect, the Albanian songs and music videos produced during the Kosova war are instructive for the ways in which they forged a sense of national purpose by eliding or mystifying social differences" p.18.

Sugarman's report clearly demonstrates a situation where music serves the purpose of uniting people in order to scale through a war situation. This could be as a result of how music appeals to human emotions and functions as a result of emotional reactions from people (see Meyer 1956). On the whole, works of art are significant in conflicts resolution process because of their place in the society as imaginative works and cultural products which appeals to an audience.

Poetry and conflicts resolution

From the foregoing, the place of poetry in conflicts resolution process is palpable. Over the years, poets have produced works in response to conflicts where they advocate for peace, mutual understanding, reconciliation, and appreciation of peace. For the purpose of this paper, excerpts of poems from collections of poems by Ben Okri, Uche Peter Umez, and Audre Lorde, will be discussed briefly in order to ascertain their relevance in the discourse.

WILD—BEN OKRI
Example 1: THE SCREAMER
Three days after the massacre
In Jenin, with the bulldozed dead
Under the rubble and men shot
Down and children blinded
By the blast of tanks
That crushed their frail houses
Into powder and blood,
And a man in a hot room
Howling for two white days
With no-one to help him,
And with the town blocked off

So that the massacre
Could be unleashed without
Any foreign witnesses,
Entering legend by rumours,
And grief only; three days
Afterwards, when the air
Of the world was poisoned
With silence and complicity,
The superpowers stood
By and watched with eyes
Averted from the future
Catastrophe that would be born
From the unforgettable rage. (p.29)

Example 2: THE WORLD IS RICH
Terror is there, no doubt:
Violence, hunger and drought;
Rivers that no longer
Flow to the sea.
It's the shadow of humanity.

There's terror in the air.
And we have put it there.
We have made God into an enemy,
Have made God into a weapon,
A poverty, a blindness, an army.

But the world is rich with
Great love unfound:
Even in the terror
There is love, twisted round
And round. Set it free

River, flow to the sea. (p.35)

From the two poems above, Ben Okri demonstrates an awareness of the world's civil unrest, terrorism, violence, and humanity's reactions to such conditions. I would argue that the admission and identification of conflict is part of the process of resolution in the sense that the peace-building process often has a focus on identifiable critical areas. In Example 1, Okri raises a critical issue about violence and reports that no resolutions have taken place because of neglect by the powers that be. Where he writes: "And a man in a hot room/Howling for two white days" clearly demonstrates the effects of violence on humanity. That "man" in the poem is a metaphor for people who suffer as a result of conflicts and violence in any part of the world. In Example 2, the author blames humanity for terror and argues that some religious practices have brought more enmity amongst

people. Consider a situation where some Christians pray to God to "kill and destroy" fellow humans considered to be enemies, thereby making God into an enemy and a weapon, according to the poem. Okri insists that the world is habitable and peaceful even in the face of violence. The paradox is resolved in the last line where he declares: "River, flow to the sea". This is an implicit call for peace in a world full of terror.

ARIDITY OF FEELINGS—UCHE PETER UMEZ
Example 3: OF THIS WORLD
We only have one chance
To build peace
A fortress for the mothers and children—
Where no killing chemicals, or blood-thirsty bullets,
Or any despot drunk with power-dregs
Stifle the soul to nothingness.

O, we only have but one precious chance
To make this world a quiet and loving place
And only this one world
Entrusted to us.

From example 4 above, the poet calls for peace-building. Here, most significant is the simplicity and accessibility of his verses in order to pass his message more effectively. Drawing from my earlier argument, while this may not immediately instill peace, the creative work or artistic expression serves as a process that aims to restore peace. The effectiveness of this work lies in its accessibility in the public domain. The poem transcends a call for peace. It is also a call for introspection and self-awareness which, in a sense, are catalysts for peace-building. With the poem, Uche Peter Umez has succeeded in adding his voice to all the voices calling for peace in the world.

THE BLACK UNICORN—AUDRE LORDE
Example 4: A LITANY FOR SURVIVAL
For those of us who live at the shoreline
standing upon the constant edges of decision
crucial and alone
for those of us who cannot indulge
the passing of dreams of choice
who love doorways coming and going
in the hours between dawns
looking inward and outward
at once before and after
seeking a now that can breed
futures
like bread in our children's mouths
so their dreams will not reflect
the death of ours;

For those of us
who were imprinted with fear
like a faint line in the center of our foreheads
learning to be afraid with our mother's milk
for by this weapon
this illusion of some safety to be found
the heavy-footed hoped to silence us
For all of us
This instant and this triumph
We were never meant to survive. (p.31)

From example 5 above, Audre Lorde, being a black lesbian feminist living in the United States at a time when Black oppression was as its peak, she fought back oppression, intimidations, and all unfairness with artistic works of poetry, prose, and essays. In this poem, she draws the attention of readers to fear as a weapon of oppression and violence. A people who succumb to fear are easily defeated mentally, psychologically, and physically. The use of fear on a people (whether minority or not) creates conflict. Audre Lorde refers to the oppressors as "heavy-footed" where she writes: "the heavy-footed hoped to silence us". The poem directly addresses the "oppressed" by stating their fears and urging them to speak up, oppose violence, and do away with fear. In the very last verse of the poem, the author writes "So it is better to speak/remembering we were never meant to survive/". Speaking to oppressors and taking the role of amplifying the voices of oppressed people is activism—and with this work, Audre Lorde's role as an activist is rightfully asserted. There could be two or more connotations to the word "survival" in the work's context. One is freedom, and the other is death. Freedom is sometimes vague, and death is the end of all mortals. In essence, even if a people are set free from oppression, they will still die one day. This argument validates Audre Lorde's last verse which is an apt summary and crux of the poem. On the whole, while her activism may not readily enact peace, speaking against fear as violence begins the process.

MUSIC & CONFLICTS RESOLUTION

From time immemorial, music has been—and continues to be one of the mediums of artistic expressions that serve many purposes. Being a product of culture within a society, it continues to serve as one of the veritable instruments for preaching and promoting peaceful co-existence amongst communities, societies, and nations as a result of people's connection to a musical work's discourse schema. For the purpose of this study and based on an argument by Danaher (2005, p.1453) where the author states that "song lyrics are important in capturing the feelings and reactions of singers to the world around them and can contribute to social change", I would limit the discussion of song excerpts from Nigerian All Star Ensemble, The Beatles, and Todd Rundgren to their lyrics alone.

NIGERIAN ALL STAR ENSEMBLE
Example 5: A SONG FOR PEACE
With peace we don't have to grieve

When peace reigns fear goes out the door
With peace we can work out our differences
Put an end to all the hate…

Wake up everybody
It's time to build a new day
Enough is enough
Let's put the past behind us
It's only when there's peace
That we can build a new Nigeria
Enough is enough
Let's give peace a chance.

From Example 6 above, some Nigerian pop musicians came together to perform as an ensemble and most significantly, to use their music for the promotion of peace in Nigeria. The song, in essence, is a response to aching divisions along religious, ethnic, political, and ideological lines which for many years, has led to loss of life and properties, neglect, nepotism, unfair treatments, and all forms of violence. The song is clearly a wakeup call for peace and resolution of conflicts in order to establish a nation devoid of any form of violence.

THE BEATLES
Example 6: WE CAN WORK IT OUT
Life is very short
And there's no time
For fussing and fighting, my friend.

While you see it your way
There's a chance that we might
Fall apart before too long
We can work it out
We can work it out

From the excerpt, the song pleads to the conscience of an enemy (or a conflicting group), seeking to settle their differences. The repetition on "We can work it out" places emphasis on the statement and plea, thereby presenting it as the discourse schema and crux of the work. It is an acceptance by one of the conflicting parties that there is need for conflict resolution. In this context, working it out is a process for restoration of peace and underscores the argument that conflicts resolution is a process.

TODD RUNDGREN
Example 7: CAN WE STILL BE FRIENDS?
Let's admit we made a mistake but
Can we still be friends?
Heartbreak's never easy to take but

Can we still be friends?

It's a strange, sad affair
Sometimes, seems like we just don't care
Don't waste time feeling hurt
We've been through hell together

Can we still be friends?
Can we still be friends?

From example 8 above, there are two characters in conflict, and one is asking for resolution by extending a hand of friendship. The third line of the first verse where the musician sings "Heartbreak's never easy to take" gives a clue about the conflict. There is betrayal or breach of trust resulting in conflict which the character seeks to resolve. On the whole, the song's discourse schema is relevant to this discourse because it focuses on conflicts between two individuals (or groups) where one extends a hand of friendship in a bid to resolve their conflicts.

CONCLUSION

Music and poetry as artistic expressions and cultural products play significant roles in the process of conflict resolution. As I have argued so far, these roles do not necessarily enact peace but have the propensity of initiating awareness, conversations, actions, and re-actions that could eventually lead to resolution of conflicts. Where there are conflicts, artistic expressions have been used to preach against violence and to promote peace, stability, and progress. It is pertinent to note that these artistic expressions are however amplified and promoted by the media which includes printing and publishing, radio, television, and other platforms of production. These, in a sense, promote artistic works and ensure that these works reach a wider audience in order to be effective. In this context, a further study could present a comparative analysis of the efficacy of these media platforms in the promotion of artistic expressions and cultural products such as music, poetry, paintings, sculpture, and other forms of art.

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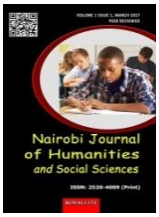

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The Impact of Foreign Films on Nigerian Youths Using 'Mad Money' As a Paradigm.

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigated the impact of foreign films on Nigerian youths with a focus on (MAD MONEY). The stimulus for this research was bore out of the insinuation that foreign Films are another form of cultural imperialism and that there has been a gradual shift of interest from local films to foreign films. Based on the above notion, the nation now looks on helplessly while foreign culture influences and envelope the minds of youths through all forms of Western Culture of Self emulation. These foreign cultures, is unique, peculiar and entirely different evolution in this part of the world. The survey research method was used to gather data. Questionnaires were administered to a sample of 100 youths living within Plateau state University Bokkos. The five point Likert Method was used to analyse data. The result however showed that, a good number of Nigerian youths watch foreign films, as a result, it was established that, foreign films provide an avenue for cultural imperialism and encourage the steady rise of immorality amongst youths, thus having a negative effect on them. As such, certain recommendations were made with the aim of curbing the situation before a massive infiltration and profound degradation of our moral code occurs. One of such recommendations was that, the Nigerian Film and Video Censors Board (NFVCB) should effectively screen foreign movies before they cross the threshold of our market.

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Background of the study

The medium (film), through is powerful psychological influence has yielded positive effects or impacts in the lives of youths, yet has turned out to be of much negative side effect in them and the society at large. This is as a result of violent films, and pornographic productions. The lives of some youths who are a curious and impressionable age group have become a tragedy, a ruin and a contributor to the decadence of the society. When the question of media effects on violence is discussed, a rather opposite conclusion is often drawn. Halloran (1970), stated that "it seem as if general public opinions still holds the media responsible for a good deal of increasing lawlessness in the society."

For many years, researchers have been concerned with the frequent depiction of violence in the mass media and the harm this portrayal might do to youths. Professionals took a similar position in viewing media violence as a serious threat to public health because it stimulates violent behavior in youths. By the 1990s, most researchers in the field had arrived at consensus that the effect of media violence on aggressive behavior was real and significant.

There can be no doubt that movies, television and other mass media have shrunk the world into a global village. The pervasiveness of the moving image is so high that it now reaches even the outmost corner. Television and films have become one of the most relied on and popular medium of entertainment and education in both rural and urban areas. The moving images have become the window to the world for the near four hundred and fifty million illiterates in Africa and Nigeria in particular.

Under such a scenario, the impact created by the films and other multimedia programme on public mind is a massive and indelible in many respects. Many fashion and other styles shown in a movie become popular overnight in villages and cities. Youngsters can be seen wearing the haircut of popular actors and actresses as well as their kind of clothing too, this is basically an imperialism.

Imperialism is the process country increasing its influence over other countries through business, culture etc. Brown (1976), also says that, imperialism involves an idea of one nation or people seeking to dominate another for exploitation. In the process, the dominant party accumulates capital at the expense of the exploited party.

Media imperialism therefore, stands for the belief in the philosophy of colonizing and the policy of extending imperial or neo-colonial influence over the mass media of another country. The concept could also be defined as the subtle manipulation of the global mass media by the advanced industrialized countries of the west, taking advantage of their economic and technological superiority and monopolistic control of world information flow system to exercise perpetual socio-cultural and ideological dominance over the rest of the world.

A more classical definition of media imperialism is given by Boyd-Barret cited in Ekeanyanwu (2005:18) thus:

> Media imperialism refers to the process whereby the ownership structure, distribution or content of the media in any one country are single or together subject to substantial external pressure from the media interest any other country or countries without proportionate reciprocation of influence by the country of affected.

This scenario led to the great in-balance in quantity and quality in the flow of communication. It also led to cultural domination as mostly Western oriented values and lifestyle are being portrayed in the media of the developing countries (cultural imperialism). Most of our youths today have known only these values and lifestyles since they were born. So, as far as they are concerned, the culture they know and accept the one they grew up to learn and appreciate.

Furthermore, very little opportunities exist for media in the developing countries to counter these overwhelming influences because of inadequacies and inequalities in socio-political cum economic development. In fact, it is no exaggeration to opine that the mass media of the third world are seriously under the influence and control of the media of the developed nations. This is irrespective of the political leaning of the country or countries in question. Agba cited Ekeanyanwu, (2005) notes that, the technology of the developed counties gave them a foothold from which they advanced to a stronghold and now maintain a strangle hold on Africa especially Nigeria. According to Shehu (1992:20),

Nigerians have generally been great film lovers and goers with a bias for foreign films such as the Indian, American and Japanese types to mention a few…from the colonial era to the present, the one directional movement of cultural products from the advance capitalist countries to the under-developed world lay the basis for our present day cultural dependency, of which the motion picture is a major component.

This western cultural domination could lead to the distortion and displacement of native cultures, and would lead to the adoption of foreign values, lifestyle and behvioural patterns of which the youths are the major victims.

The youths constitute the highest population of film viewers in the environment sphere in which kind of act, whether worthy or unworthy of consumption is displayed to them. The eyes ears through the nervous system, signals to the memory, creating mood, emotions in which certain feelings significant to the movie story arouses certain behaviours which the youths tend to act on impulse.

Man's beliefs, emotions, behaviours and attitude to a great extent depend on what he sees and hears. A research on foreign films and its impacts on youths, using Jos North Local Government Area as an example, was considered necessary with a view to finding out if foreign films are responsible for the aggressive and violent behaviour that the youths exhibit today in the society.

Statement of the problem

Any nation's youths are an asset to that nation's national growth, but when the consciousness of the youths are infiltrated with foreign culture against her traditional norms and values, when the youths live with borrowed culture that is alien to their cultural values and beliefs, what would be the contribution of that youth to its nation's national growth?

Many scholars have argued that Africa/Nigeria culture has been bastardized by the influence of Western Culture or contents that are projected via the media (film). For example, the internet has made pornographic film far more available to anyone with a computer. Also, the representation of sex and sexuality in the media particular the film medium is an issue that raises concern, even moral panic among some sector of the society.

Foreign films have been the focus of concerns of this sort. Other studies have argued that, foreign films tend to promote violence, aggressive behavior, incurable drug addiction, disrespect for the sanity of human life, indecent dressing and conduct, and other forms of anti-social behaviours among youths.

Although, there are some of the foreign films that have positive benefit on Nigerian youths but being adventurous, they tend to go for the violent ones that would make them behave like their foreign counterpart and this is detrimental to the nation's norms and values.

This study therefore examined the extent to which foreign films influence social behavior of youths, negatively or positively in Jos North Local Government Area and how the excesses of these films can be minimized.

Cultural Imperialism Theory

The term imperialism always provokes negative reaction; it does refer to a real dilemma that pits western nations against those of the third word. According to Dennis (1983) media imperialism results in cultural imperialism and implants western ideas and values, thus upsetting natural evolutionary development"

Culture as a word is credited to the British anthropologist, Sir Edward Taylor. He defined culture as that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, moral, low, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society:. Of more relrevance to this discussion is the definition by the world Book Encyclopedia. It say that, Culture consists of all the ideas, objects and ways of doing things created by a group. These include arts, beliefs, custom innovations, language technology and tradition. Culture also consists of learned way of acting, feeling and thinking rather than biologically determined ways.

This definition particularly underscore the views that the greater or the more influential part of what makes culture is acquired or learned, and not in bore or innate. The implication of this is that culture could be learned, acquired experienced or transferred from one place to another through various ways. One of the most influencial of these way is through the film. This is where communication and mass media play a significant role in the transmission of culture. This relationship between culture and communication is clearly stated in the McBride report (1980) thus. The role of communication may be regarded as that of a major carrier of culture. The media of communication are cultural instruments which serve to promote or influence attitudes, to motivate to foster the spread of behaviuor patterns, and to bring about social integration. For millions of people, they are the principal means of access of culture and to all forms of creative expression. In the modern world, mass media supply the cultural fare and shape the cultural experience of many people.

Okunna cited in Ekeanyanwu (2005) also captures this relationship thus:

> …given the nature of the international communication system, there have always been fears that the massive flow of Western predominantly American media culture into non-western societies of the developing world could lead to cultural domination which will distort and displace native cultures and lead to the adoption of foreign values, lifestyle and behavioural patterns.

This distortion according to Okunna is called cultural imperialism or cultural synchronization. Domatob (1988) further defined cultural synchronization as "The process through which the cultures of developing countries, such as those of Sub-Saharan African."

Cultural imperialism is therefore defined as the subtle manipulation of the mass media of underdeveloped or developing countries by the developed western capitalist nations of Europe and North American using their advanced and well developed mass media to control the behaviour lifestyles, morals, mores, arts and values of the underdeveloped or developing nations through the production and massive exportation of media software to the developing nations.

Cultural imperialism is also the subjugation of a local culture and the imposition of an alien culture on the local culture (Ekeanyanwu, 1998). Schiller, (1997) also defined cultural imperialism as "the process by which western nations dominate the media around the world which in turn has a powerful effect on the third world countries by imposing on them western views and therefore destroying their native cultures."

From the above definitions, it simply means that, western civilization produces the majority of the media (Film, comics, news etc.) because they have the money to do so. Therefore, third world countries are watching their media filled with the western world's ways of living, believing and thinking. The third world cultures then start to want and do the same things in their countries and thereby destroying their own culture.

Concepts of home video

Adesanga cited Akpabio (2003) notes that, the cost of production greatly hampers films production in Nigeria. As such, film makers unable to cope with cost of shooting on celluloid first turned to reversal film stock and later on, video tapes. So unlike the American and Indian film industries, the Nigeria film industries, the Nigeria film industry popularly called Nollywood uses the video cassette format and recently the Video Compact Disc (VCD). As a consequence, the films are not shown in cinema houses since they are shot straight and into video tapes, replicated and sold for home viewing hence the term "hence videos." And it is this ingenuity that has changed the face of the Nigeria film industry. Looking at the past trends in the Nigerian films, colonial film units (the body responsible for film matters) before independence distributed films in the country from the United State and Britain. The films were usually re-edited to achieve the desired propagation of films within the country. This was because it was realized that the production of films in the colony will have more manifest propaganda advantages.

Ekwuazi (1991) noted that "the production of such films demonstrated British etiquette superiority in all facets of human endeavour, from science through technology, to medicine sports." He further noted that, films of this era were geared towards.

Using films to further the overall aims colonialism

Using films to portray the developmental and civilizing mission of the British and with the hope that this will counter the rising wave of natural agitation for independence within the county and finally.

Using films to convince the colonies that they had a common enemy in the German. According to Ekwuazi (1991), this explains why over the colonies that they had a common

enemy in the German. According to Ekwuazi (1991), this explains why over quarter of the films made were war related.

The first obvious limitation of the colonial film was that, it was rooted within the limited role which British ascribed to the film medium films were mainly for propaganda, which meant that the authorities were not interested in the film as an entertainment medium or an essential element of national development. Moreover, the film made by the colonial unit never attracted a wide Nigerian film audience because the populace could not really identify with them since they were not culturally relevant to them. The implication today has been the underdevelopment of this sector and its inadequate policy framework.

Basically, colonial films fall in categories that are influenced mainly by their themes. Shehu (1992) concurring to this fact, observed1. "The content of the post-colonial films, depending on their dominant tendencies, can be conveniently grouped into two. These are; those that thematically emphasis cultures and those that tilt towards history."

The cultural approach to film making has been on schematizing and emphasizing socio-cultural issues and problems of the society. Films makers working within this tradition have criticized the negative influence of foreign values, particularly external cultural domination; by high lighting the strengths of indigenous culture. The heroes are usually those that represent the Nigeria culture (Momoh, 1986).

Even though the early Nigerian films thematically emphasized culture and history and to some extent morality and politics, contemporary social realities were left out because of the financial constraints experienced film makers (Shehu, 1992). Perhaps, the success of Nollywood could be attributed to the ability of present day film makers to emphasize contemporary realities which many Nigerians and Africans can relate to.

Mgbejume (1989) observes that, Nollywood's choice of location; costumes and storyline usually reflect the cultural values of the country. The best examples that come to mindhere are the Yoruba films of the Ogunde theatre.

The second tendency within the Nigerian film cultures has to do with those films that seek to emphasize the historic. This is very broad and still emerging tendency. Films of this tendency aim at rectifying the Nigerian past from what is perceived as centuries of colonial distortions and neglect. Ekwuazi, (1991). It should be noted that the emerging Hausa films, with emphasizes on the mortality and legends of the past, are gradually taking shape in this direction. Their strength lies in the restoration of pride and dignity to the past.

As with those films that exhibit the cultural tendency, their weaknesses arise from their escapism from the deeds of the past no matter how negative such deeds. Similarly, the films do not attempt to link the past with the present. In other words they do not extend the positive morals which these heroes stood for to the present reality of the Nigerian situations.

Another constraint according to Diawara, (1992) can be gleaned from the technical quality of the films. Technically, most of the films have not really been able to create their own peculiar form. Rather they have been poor imitation of the Hollywood format which is created for a limited audience with different socio-cultural values the home video or Nollywood has also been accused of over emphasizing negative themes.

Against this background, Akpabio (2003) argued that, the themes of Nollywood films focus on negative issues like:

> …evils of polygamy, extra marital affairs, elopement, different forms of rituals, cultism, betrayal, sibling, rivalry, the activities of hired assassins and armed robbers, witchcraft work place rivalry, hypocrisy of religious leaders, sexual intercourse with house maids, angry gods and goddesses and campus life.

He however observed that the audience has a favourable attitude to Nigerian home video films in spite of the emphasis on negative themes.

Comparative view of foreign films and nigerian home video

It is evident that all films are geared towards entertainment, education as well as promoting one's culture. The diversity of culture dictates that certain ideas, thoughts, messages etc. that are considered healthy for a culture, may not be welcome by another. So there is bound to be differences in the content of both foreign films and the Nigerian home video.

Bearing in mind that Nigerian home video is made basically for local consumption; its content therefore is tilted towards the promotion of Nigeria's cultural heritage. This Adesokan (2005) agrees when he noted that "Nigerian films portray societal reality," and he reflects on Nigeria's films as "an aspect of social action." The films represents a mood of self-conception and self-advancement, through which people renegotiate the changing sense of selfhood in contemporary West African society.

Based on the above assertion, it can simply be deduced that the Nigeria movies are a representation of Nigerian culture. The Nigerian cultural heritage is being transmitted through Nollywood films.

While, the foreign films have little or no cultural values to project in their films. Hollywood films promote only violent, exhibition of drugs, prostitution and moral decadence. Ironically, the major markets for this films are found within the African continent with Nigeria being the major buyers. The Western have regards for Africa only as a ready-made market. But seek to destroy her rich cultural heritage via their films as agents of imperialism and any other means that permeates.

But while Nigerian film (Nollywood) has grown over the years to be a medium where culture, norms, values and the Nigerian heritage are portrayed and reflected, the opposite is true of the Hollywood. Gill, et'al (2006) stated that "one thing is certain that U.S mass media are full of violence…thirty seven percent of all programming on American cable and network television, features themes that are high in violence…Hollywood movies make up the majority of the most violent programming."

The above comparison indicates that the contents of most foreign films are capable of damaging the mindset of the recipients (Nigerian Youths) against their own culture, norms and values as a result, such content should be avoided.

Synopsis of mad money

The film begins close to the end of the story, when the suspects get caught and are interrogated. Then it flashes back to three years earlier and proceeds forward from there, interspersed with occasional bits from the interrogation.

Three years before getting caught, Bridget (Diane Keaton) lived a comfortable life until her husband Don (Ted Danson) was fired from his position and sunk into debt. The pay

check for Selina, the cleaning lady, bounces again, Selina confronts Bridget and suggests she take a job as a janitor at the Federal Reserve Bank Kansas City.

On her first day on the job, Bridget hatches a scheme to steal damaged dollar bills slated for destruction. For her team she chooses Nina (Queen Latifah), who works the dollar bill shredder, and Jackie (Katie Holmes), who takes bill carts from the Secret Service room to the shredding room. It takes some work to convince Nina to join, but Jackie joins them quickly.

The plan is that the Secret Service room, Bridget will switch a cart's official Master-brand lock with a near-identical lock she purchased at Home Depot. Bridget will tell Jackie the cart number and give Nina the official lock. When Jackie gets the chosen cart, she dumps some bills from it into a trash can before taking it to Nina, who then uses Bridget's key to open it, replaces the official lock, and proceeds to shred the remaining bills. Meanwhile, Bridget, in the course of janitorial duties, retrieves the dumped bills from the trash and splits them among Nina and Jackie in the restroom.

While a success, the take from their first robbery is not as big as they had hopped. However, they're emboldened to do it again and again. Once Don and Bridget pay off their debt, Don suggests they stop before they get caught. Bridget rejects the idea and convinces Nina and Jackie to keep going. They almost get caught, but they fold in one of the cops.

A Federal Bank Examiner shows up at a party at Bridget's house, and the next day Bridget sees him at work. The Examiner confronts Glover (Stephen Root), who is unwilling to admit anyone has stolen a single bill out of his bank as a matter of professional pride. Tipped off, that night Bridget and her accomplices begin to get rid of all the loot stashed in their houses, but the cops move in before all the evidence is destroyed. Bridget escapes but the others get caught.

Bridget hires a tax attorney to defend them, and he gets Bridget and all her accomplices off the hook for their crimes. However, the IRS demands they pay their taxes, which turn out to be equal money that remains. They walk away free yet penniless. Eight months later, Bridget reveals to Nina and Jackie that she stashed away a lot of the stolen money in the basement of a friends bar.

Cast of Mad Money
Diane Keaton as Bridget
Queen Latifah as Nina
Katie Holmes as Jackie
Ted Dansonas Don
Adam Rothenberg as Bob
Christopher McDonald as Bryce
Directed by:
Callie Khouri
Written by:
Glenn Gers
John Mister Time:104 minutes

The movie "Mad Money" illustrates the negativity of a typical Hollywood films that tent to destroy a good moral moral and cultural value of a particular race and nation like Nigeria. It

is worth mentioning the fact that, the film juxtaposes and represents a good white society. The blacks in the film are presented as negativity, while the while in the film represents God fearing, good citizens.

Nina 'Queen Latifah', is portrayed as a deviant woman with a strong criminal inclinations. She agrees to take an active part in criminal schemes to steal money and appropriate dollar bills that are supposed to be destroyed. It should be pointed out that Nina plays an important role in this criminal scheme. Taking into consideration the fact that Queen Latifah is very popular, especially among African youths it is quite natural that her character will produce a profound impact on the audience who majority are African youths who view her as a role model to them and live in object poverty. The film teach the youths how they can steal money, violate law, ignore basic moral and ethical norms. This description is basically of Nina, the character played by Queen Latifah, and her actions and lifestyle in the film.

Thus, taking into account all above mentioned, it is possible to conclude that "Mad Money" by Collie Khouri is a film which contributes to the formation of negative impact on the attitudes, behavior and the moral, cultural, social upbringing of the Nigerian youths. At the same time, it is important to underline that this film perfectly proves the fact that movies as well as the mass media at large are a very powerful and effective tool of the construction of the concept of race and culture.

Film and its impact as a mass medium

In general, socially acceptable press behaviour was to be anchored on self-regulation, but if practitioners would not voluntarily behave or be in conformity, then there must be certain social structures to ensure that it does behave in compliance with recognized social standards.

In line with this, Mc Quail cited in Baran and Davis, (1995) said:

> media should accept and fulfill certain obligations to society. These obligations are mainly to be met by setting high or professional standards of information, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance. In accepting and applying these obligations, media should be self-regulating within the framework of law and established institutions. The media should avoid whatever might lead to crime, violence or civil disorder. The media as a whole should be pluralist and reflect the diversity of their society…

From the above assertion, the media is supposed to filter every information before it get to the audience to ensure that such contents is not capable of making the audience to ensure that such contents is not capable of making the audience to become aggressive or violence.

It is believed that, the emergence of radio, television and film suggested the need for some measure of responsibility. Thus, the theory advocated some obligation on the part of the media to the society. Social responsibility theory thus becomes the modern variation in which the duty to one's conscience was the primary basic of the right of free expression. Yet this freedom is to operate within a frame of reference that sets the common good of the society above any other goal or interest, especially of the film makers. (Hollywood and Bollywood).

Recommendation

In view of the findings in this study, the following recommendations were made.

It is recommended that, the general film policy in Nigeria be reviewed towards the basis for the emergence of an industry whose products would complement the developmental efforts of the government. Based on the above, any comprehensive film policy must redirect the present trend whereby the industry is dominated by foreign films. Thus, the policies should emphasis for mankind and dignity of labour while at the same time discouraging them from any film that emphasizes sex, fantasy, violence and crime.

The government should regulate the influx of foreign films as well as monitor and censor Nigerian local films to protect Nigerian youths from the adverse effect of exposure to pornographic films.

If movies can influence youths negatively to the extent that moral values of the society are subdued through its power to manipulate the minds of the youths/adolescent, it can also be used to serve as a source of reorientation. Therefore, the study recommends that, the Nigerian film industry should produce films that are youth oriented and also directed towards conscientising the youths on the need to imbibe and appreciate their culture and hold it in high esteem.

Parents should be awake to their responsibility to expose their children to their various cultures so that, when they grow up they would imbibe and appreciate their culture.

The media should live up to their social responsibility and agenda setting standard hence, set agenda for public discuss. For if they set a wrong agenda, the society would follow suit and this will spellself-destruction thereby damaging or infiltrating the human mind against the societal norms and values. Yaroson, (2008).

Also the Nigerian film industry should make the Nigerian and African culture much more appealing by depicting strong cultural and moral values through well thought out plots and storylines as well as excellent cinematography.

Finally, Nigerian Film and Video Censors Board (NFVCB) should effectively screen foreign movies before they cross the threshold of our market.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the paper gather that, the watching of foreign films by majority youths in Africa and Nigeria in particular is responsible for immoral behaviours of youths in Nigeria. This was because, Nigerian youths predominantly view foreign films rather than local films and it was therefore evident in the study that, those foreign films depicts more of violent, aggressive, as well as negative contents. Also, it was found out that, immoral and violent contents can interfere with personal moral behavior. As a result, constant exposure to foreign films can make Nigerian youths to behave indecently and in a corrupt manner.

The study also established that Nigerian culture has been bastardized due to cultural imperialism of which film is the major factor. It was thus evident that foreign films promote western behaviour in Nigeria and youths are the major victims.

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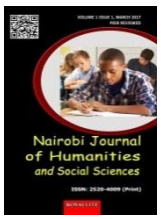

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A Historical Perspective on the Evolution and Presentations of the Ideal in Children's Television: A Study of Kenyan Television from 1989 to 2012

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims at offering a brief history of children's television in Kenya since 1989 when Voice of Kenya (VoK) was rebranded Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC). The year 1989 is unique in the sense that broadcasting hours were increased, giving room for more programmes for children. This paper tries to provide a historical progression of Kenyan children's television programmes, while analysing their portrayal of the world to the child. The paper will also look at notable opinions by Kenyan scholars on what children television ought to be vis-à-vis what it is. This paper concludes that although the Kenyan society (and to a great extent, television stations) still habours the idea that children are innocent individuals being natured to join the society by controlling the content they watch, we may be misleading ourselves. It must be accepted that currently children have multiple venues in which they can access various media with varied content. The paper accepts that children have varied intellect, experiences, interests and come from different backgrounds with different expectations of what is entertaining and what is boring. Although the paper does accept that television is a useful tool for culture transmission, it challenges the idea that children are a homogeneous group that can do with a standard offering.

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Children are a special category of television audiences with needs that differ from those of adults and as such the programmes they are interested in are unique to them. Kenyan television has been offering both foreign and local content targeting children since the founding of the first television station in Kenya, with the programs ranging from magazines to the more recent children's drama. This paper tries to provide a historical progression of Kenyan children's television programmes, while analysing their portrayal of the world to the child.

The year 1989 saw Voice of Kenya change its name through an act of parliament to revert to its original name Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), a move that also saw the modernisation of the national media house facilities. The improvement of infrastructure at KBC enabled the station to increase its broadcasting hours, meaning that the broadcaster also had to increase its offering in terms of programmes. This move also saw the number of children's (persons who are 18 years old and below) programmes at the station increased with more Kenyan produced children programmes being offered in addition to foreign produced cartoons.

KBC, which was the only broadcaster in Kenya at the time, moved to make children part and parcel in the stations programming by ensuring that children who got home at 5 pm from school always had a programme meant for them to watch. During weekends and public holidays, children had a few additional offerings for them from 2pm in the afternoon and later when the station further increased its broadcast hours children programmes started airing from 8am. Most of the programmes targeting children on KBC were magazines, a concept that the station never moved away from even with increasing competition from stations such as Citizen Television that revolutionized children programming in television by offering local dramas not only targeting children but also acted by children. However, the concern remains whether the Kenyan media is really in-touch with the evolving demand of children in terms of themes, content and style of presentation of their programmes.

Since the late 80s, KBC offered magazine programmes such as Children's Variety Show, Youth in Action, Happy Days and Mix Them Gather Them. Other programmes by KBC were quiz and debating shows such as School's Debate, Quiz and Sanaa ya Kiswahili. There was also an assortment of shows that differed in content but had the same style of presentation i.e: Budding Club and Kiini Macho. Indeed, programmes like Variety Show and Kiini Macho have patronized Kenyan television since the early 80s and had become household names when it came to television by the time KBC was restructuring in 1989.

Budding club was a religious (Bible study) show, while Kiini Macho was a magic show. Both shows had an adult presenting to a group of children in the studio, who were later invited to contribute to the presentation as participants on the stage where the magic trick will be done on them in Kiini Macho, or by reading a verse, answering a question or singing a hymn in Budding Club.

A typical Kiini Macho show would start with the presenter introducing the show to the children in the studio who were his primary audience. He would then pose a few questions to them, such as: what school they were from, what class, whether they knew the magic words used in the show and such. After taking answers from the children, he would then instruct them on the magic words and proceed to perform a few tricks for them on stage. Later he would invite a few children to assist him perform the tricks or to have a trick

performed on them.

The magazine programmes offered by KBC often presented the same events by different schools week after week. The structure was the same in the different programmes with minor variations in terms of presentation and format. While Variety Show approached schools (mainly primary schools) all over the country for content, Youth in Action and Happy Days were produced by KBC's Mombasa studios and featured Coastal schools. Youth in Action was tailored for high school going children as it featured different Coastal secondary schools, while Happy Days catered for primary school children. These programmes were educational in nature and exposed children to cultures from different communities in the country.

Variety Show usually started with the presenter on location introducing the school which he/she had visited and would brief the viewer on the different activities that had been prepared by the school. The presenter or a student leading a segment of the programme (be it a dance, play, choral verse etc) would inform the viewer on what the performance to be offered is about, and then proceed to lead the troupe through the performance. At times the programme contained a question and answer segment where a student will be responding to questions posed by the presenter on a traditional music instrument, work tools, craft, clothing and such.

Like Budding Club, Kiini Macho or Variety Show, the presentation of children's programmes on KBC was remarkably similar. Different episodes of the same programme shared the same structure, making them predictable. Although the similarity in plot in children's programmes may be to enhance familiarity, it may also become tedious as the child would always know what happens next. The tediousness of a standard plot has been demonstrated by Akoleit (1990), where she found out that the fourteen year olds sampled in her research desired more intricate plots in their reading material. Akoleit (1990), who studied Barbara Kimenye's Moses Series, found out that many of the fourteen year olds sampled were already reading adult novels.

However, Akoleit's findings suggest that programmes aired by KBC targeting children might have attracted children who are fourteen years or younger because of the nature of their content. According to Piaget's (1950) stages of cognitive development, the programmes aired at that time were more suitable to children in their pre-operational stage (age 2-7) and the concrete operational stage (age 7-11/12). Hence, children in their formal operational stage (age 11/12 and beyond) did not have anything relevant to them being aired by the station.

Although a programme such as Youth in Action may have been formulated to cater for the formal operational stage, its presentation could have made it more relevant for the concrete operational stage. This can be supported by Akoleit's research in which the Moses series of books, written by Kimenye for lower secondary school students in Uganda, were found to be too simple for 14 year olds (class eight students) who were surveyed.

The liberalization of airwaves saw more television stations coming up and hours of broadcast increased as competition took hold in the media industry. Kenya Television Network (KTN) came up with the perennial Klub Kiboko, while Nation TV (NTV) has been offering Teen Republic. Kiss TV had Tinga Tinga Tales with Citizen TV having the widest variety of local shows targeting children, including: Tahidi High, Machachari, Great Debate Contest and Kubamba School Visits.

Tinga Tinga Tales aired on Kiss TV was a programme of mixed origin as the concept was from Tanzania, the producer British and the animation done in Kenya. The animation series was targeted at children in their pre-operational and concrete operational stages.

The animation identified and told various African myths of how various wild animals gained their appearance. Davis and Watkins (1960) note that children are fascinated by animal characters who behave like human beings. In the case of Tinga Tinga Tales, the animals are able to talk like human beings and even have emotions that are similar to human emotions. The narration in the animation was in Kiswahili, with a monkey being the primary narrator, or at least introduces the narration before it is picked up by the lead character (animal) in the episode.

A typical plot in Tinga Tinga Tales can be demonstrated in one of the episodes titled Kwa Nini Twiga ana Shingo Ndefu (Why a giraffe has a long neck). The episode begins with a monkey (narrator) jumping from the introductory title of the programme on to a giraffe that is passing underneath the title. The giraffe has a short neck and legs (looks more like a zebra than a giraffe). Monkey starts telling the giraffe's story of how she had short legs and neck and how she used to be picky when it came to food. Giraffe picks up the narration and tells how she gets constipated when she eats some types of food. Monkey and Giraffe get to a tree where other monkeys offer Giraffe a mango that sets off Giraffe's constipation and causes her great embarrassment. Elephant who happens to be passing by offers to help drown the noise coming from Giraffe's stomach by blowing its trump. Tortoise arrives at the scene and suggests that giraffe should be more selective on the types of food she takes. Lion and Rhino join the gathering of animals and also offer their advice. Lion suggests that giraffe should take honey, while Rhino believes fresh vegetation will stop giraffe's constipation. Giraffe goes out to seek honey and gets to a tree with a honey comb guarded by bees and a chameleon patched up on one of the branches. Giraffe explains her problem to Chameleon who advices Giraffe that she may try convincing the bees to give her some honey but says it would not be easy. Giraffe approaches the bees to present her plea, and the bees in a melody and dance (making symbols) ask who wants honey and why. Giraffe explains her problem and is allowed to have honey. She presses her head into the crack on the tree where the hive is and starts licking the honey within. However, when she has had enough and Chameleon has confirmed that her stomach is no longer growling, Giraffe realises she's stranded as her head is stuck in the hive. Chameleon also realises Giraffes dilemma and goes to get help. After a full night, Chameleon returns with Lion, Rhino, Elephant and Tortoise who try to pull Giraffe from the hive but only succeed in making Giraffes feet longer. When this fails they withdraw and decide it is best to try to fell the tree by pulling it down, however, this only makes Giraffes neck longer. Chameleon then encourages Giraffe to try pulling herself from the hive now that her body structure has changed, a move that is successful with Giraffe being able to pull herself out. Monkey takes over the narration by reciting a list of advantages that Giraffe has over other animals due to its long neck and legs. Giraffe invites Chameleon to join her in eating the fresh leaves on top of the tree, but Chameleon refuses by saying that it prefers flies instead. The episode is concluded by Monkey promising to narrate Chameleon's story next time.

The above extract has made use of a melody by bees, which is in effect music. The programme always incorporated music in its plot to add on to the entertainment value of the tale. Kabui (1997) notes that for children, following a monologue in a play would be

tedious for it is passive, thus to keep the audience's concentration and to help them remember the scene, song accompanied by dance is employed.

The musical has also been traditionally associated with children films. Bordwell and Thompson (2001) note that apart from the backstage and romantic plot patterns, the musical has also often been associated with children's stories. The Wizard of Oz Is an early example of this. Feature-length cartoons are often musicals, a convention that was established by Walt Disney in 1937 with Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs and has continued to the present day children films such as The Lion King and Tarzan. Indeed, by the 1980s and 1990s the live-action musical had become rare and animated films had largely taken over the function of providing tales interspersed with musical numbers.

Alembi (2003) points out that children enjoy singing and reciting poems. Use of poetic language and verse are therefore invaluable techniques in children's plays. He notes that creative use of repetition in terms of words, lines and ideas is an equally important feature of children's plays. This device creates rhythm, which in turn makes the piece musical, a feature that greatly excites children.

Repetition of words, lines and ideas can be noted in the above quoted except from Tinga Tinga Tales as Giraffe's sensitivity to certain foods has been explained over and over again. The sensitivity to food provides the explanation and why Giraffe is advantaged at the end of the tale as it can get to eat the fresh sprouting leaves at the top of trees, hence avoiding constipation.

Apart from the use of music and repetition, the animals in the series are always moving and meeting other animals engaged in varied activities, hence action in the animation is kept constant thus holding the child's interest. Kabui (1997) stresses the importance of action in a play meant for children by noting that action is necessary because it keeps the audience, especially children whose concentration span is short, engrossed in the play.

Tahidi High and Machachari aired on Citizen TV made milestones in children's programming in the country as they were the first television programmes in which Kenyan children could watch other children involved in situations that are familiar to them. Although the Kenyan child can relate to and understand American and European children's productions, the setting, interactions between characters and some of the themes may be remarkably different from the Kenyan situation. Alstrom (1957), while discussing the educational value of theatre to children, contends that children's theatre should teach them about their environment, other people and themselves. In the Kenyan situation, the child's environment is the Kenyan neighbourhood in which he/she is living, the Kenyan school that he/she is attending, and the Kenyan culture that he/she abides by. Relating Alstrom's opinion on the function of theatre to children's television in the country, the child should be taught about what is expected of a Kenyan child in relation to his/her society.

Machachari is an episodic drama that revolves around four children: Baha, Govi, Almasi and Joy. The plot of the programme demonstrates why this television drama is suitable for children.

In one episode, the drama starts with Almasi being reprimanded by his mother for committing a number of misdemeanours. One of Almasi's offences is that of carrying his phone to school. The mother has also found out that Almasi has opened a facebook account and has photos of skimpily dressed women hidden in his room. Almasi's mother is

disappointed that despite all the endevours by her and her husband to give their children a good life, Almasi has the temerity to betray them and strikes him. Joy tries stopping the mother from hitting Almasi. Soon after, Almasi walks off to his room and starts crying. Joy goes after him but he sends her away. Joy resorts to calling one of her mother's sisters, Auntie Caro, to come and intervene. Auntie Caro visits and is able to mediate between mother and son by advising that while Almasi ought to apologize to his mother, the latter also needs to understand that her son has become a teenager and is tempted to try out various things and therefore needs a lot of direction. Almasi writes an apology letter to his mother and also endeavours to apologize verbally where the two reconcile. Almasi's misdemeanours and subsequent apology is the main plot, but there is a sub-plot involving Baha and Govi. Their father is involved in some woodwork, with the two boys helping. At one point the father asks Baha to hold two pieces of wood together so that he (father) can join them using a nail. Unfortunately, the hammer hits Baha's finger. However, he is not seriously hurt such that in the father's absence, he thinks of himself as a knowledgeable carpenter, claiming to have the expertise to repair their neighbour's (Stella's) door whose hinges are loose. He removes all the hinges, planning to fix them properly. However, when he tries to fasten the hinges he realizes that it is more complicated than he imagined. Then the children get wind of their father approaching just when they are struggling to fasten the door. Hastily, they put up the door with unfastened hinges to give their father the impression that nothing was the matter. Indeed, when their father appears, they pretend that they were actually not doing anything wayward. Subsequently, in a humorous childlike way, they ask their father what kinds of nails are suitable for door hinges. However, their naughtiness comes to the fore when Stella's mother materializes and heads straight to her house without suspecting that the door is merely suspended. She pushes the door to open it but it collapses.

Mugubi (2012) notes that plots meant for child viewers ought to be generally simple. In the above extract from Machachari, there is only one main plot with an accompanying sub-plot. Tinga Tinga Tales has only one simple plot with the same set of characters interacting in two different settings. Mugubi (2012) further notes that whereas story forms meant for adult consumption may have innumerable plots and sub-plots, story forms for children usually has a single plot. He points at the telenovela Shades of Sin, saying that the programme's numerous sub-plots (overloaded plot) would be extremely taxing for a child's mind as he seeks to follow the story. He writes that it is very easy for a child to lose interest in such a program that has more than five stories going on all at the same time.

Mugubi (2012) observes that a story line that takes a couple of hours or more strains the minds of children. It is in this regard that children's programmes meant for 2-7 year olds, who belong to the preoperational stage, seldom exceed 30 minutes. This is because no matter how entertaining the programme is, the concentration span of such children is quite low. For 7-12 year olds who belong to the concrete operational stage, going beyond one hour may be strenuous unless it is utter entertainment with no story line.

However, sociological research in the United States of America has proved that the mass media, especially television has become an important means of socialization for children in the country; a trend that is being replicated all over the world with television sets becoming more affordable.

Calhoun (1995) says that overall, children in the United States of America (and other

Western nations) spend more time watching television than they spend in school, or, very likely, in direct communication with their parents. Slaby and Hollen-beck, et al (Cited in Fabes, et al, 1989) note that children as young as nine months of age already are watching the television set as much as 90 minutes a day in North America. By age four, children average 4 hours a day of viewing, and by the time they have graduated from high school, youth have spent more time watching television than any other activity except sleeping.

The changing demographics in terms of ownership of television sets and other entertainment media has modified children's understanding of television texts, such that children have now been equipped with the knowledge of comprehending plots that may be perceived to be beyond them. Akoleit (1990) wrote of 14 year olds reading novels meant for adults, while Huck (1979) argues that the child in his/her formal operational stage can hold several plots or sub-plots in his /her mind and see the interrelations among them, hence highlighting the complexities of the child's understanding.

However, Allan (1973) simplifies the argument by suggesting that plots in children's books (in this case television) should be those that children can easily identify with. Hence, a film like The Gods Must be Crazy, which has three parallel plots that intersect at the end, is easy for a child at its concrete operational stage to understand and appreciate because of the simplicity of the various plots in the film and their entertainment value.

Machachari uses humour as one of its main ingredients in order to attract and maintain the interest of its viewers who mainly comprise of children. Ray (1970) notes that apart from adventure, humour is perhaps the most essential ingredient in popular and successful children's fiction, since children generally expect to be amused in their recreational reading (and also television).

Machachari places its emphasis on situational humour as it is more understandable, funnier and more memorable to children. Kabui (1997) notes that homour derived from speech does not appeal to children mainly because they do not understand it. Although Machachari uses situational humour, it should be noted that the humour in the programme is not fanciful or clownish, but it is the simple endevours by the children together with the adults that at times border on the outrageous that provide the comic relief.

While it is usually children in the different episodes of Machachari who provide the comic relief in their predicaments after being involved in mischief while playing adult or getting themselves in a situation somehow, the adult MaDVD (sales pirated Digital Versatile Disks while managing a public toilet in a slum) has also had the ability to provide comic relief in the different situations that affect him as part of his life. MaDVD who is a good friend to the children in Machachari usually does not go out looking for trouble, but somehow trouble always seems to find him. The trouble typically originates from the business he is running, his need for money or attempts to impress his girlfriend who happens to be a house-help at Almasi's and Joy's home.

Mugubi (2012) notes that the simplicity of the theme in Machachari tallies with the child-like character. Some of the themes explored in the programme include: hope, compassion/charity, benevolence, friendship, solidarity, adventure/exploration, trickery, fantasy, forgiveness, flexibility, among others.

Hunt (1994) notes that children's writers are in a position of singular responsibility in transmitting cultural values, rather than 'simply' telling a story. Hence, children television programmes concentrate on themes such as friendship, forgiveness, honesty and such.

However, while encouraging the depiction of virtuous and altruistic behaviour in programmes targeting children, we should also question whether we are giving children the space to learn the real nature of human beings and the societies which celebrates competition, greed and selfishness.

Hunt (1994) quotes Edward Ardizzone, who was forced to change the plot of his second picture-book Lucy and Mr. Grimes;

"I think we are possibly inclined, in a child's reading, to shelter him (sic) too much from the facts of life, sorrow, failure, poverty, and possibly even death, if handled poetically can surely all be introduced without hurt… if no hint of the hard world comes into these books, then I am not sure we are playing fair" (16).

Ardizzone concerns on the presentation of children's books can be related to children's television. In a programme such as Machachari, although Baha and Govi reside in a slum, the effects of poverty on the children are barely seen. Instead, the children are presented to have much more freedom than their well off friends, even when Baha's father losses his job or their house burns down, the despair is not communicated in its bluntness to the audience.

In Machachari, poverty has been romanticized to the point a child will not question why one family is prosperous with the other living in a slum. The situation has been presented to be an acceptable norm in society that the child viewer stands the chance of growing up knowing that poverty is a condition in life and the only thing that can be done for the poor is to sympathise with them and maybe once in a while give them a donation when the situation is really desperate.

Lynskey (1974) is of the opinion that the society must ensure that children have the widest possible range of experience from which to gain insight, sympathy and understanding. According to him, unless children set out positively to gain these experiences, they will remain captives of their own immaturity and environment.

Another widely contentious issue in children's television is the depiction of violence, which has remained a highly controversial issue. In the quoted episode, Almasi's mother strikes Almasi in a fit of anger for his 'wrongdoing', and later Almasi is the one who apologizes for his behaviour. Although Almasi's mother does not seem to have injured him physically, the fact that he cries after being hit shows that he had been hurt emotionally. This raises the question of how justified it is for an adult (in this case a parent) to hit a child simply because he/she is angry at the child's action, and where is the place for violence in television?

On the one hand, Mckenna and Ossuf (cited in Weche, 2000) conclude that children who watch violent models on television may imitate violent behaviour in their interactions with others. On the other hand, Calhoun (1995) concludes that though there is a connection between aggressive behaviour in children and their preference for violent shows, it is difficult to say which comes first, the aggressive behavior or the preference for violent shows.

The fact that Almasi is shown being hit by the mother on television, raises the question of the place for harsh themes in television targeting children. Giddens (1989) notes that television drama emerged as being highly violent in character in researches carried out by Garbner; on average 80 percent of such programmes contained violence. Children programmes showed even higher levels of violence, although killing was less

commonly portrayed. Cartoons contained the highest number of violent acts. Violence in Gabner's research was defined as the threat or use of physical force, directly against the self or others, in which physical harm or death is involved.

Alembi (2003) criticises the use of harsh themes in children productions at the Kenya Schools and Colleges Drama festival, saying;

"They (adult directors) have used adult lenses to look at and address these issues. It has been shocking to see girls (as women) battered by their husbands (boys) and militia men (boys) and militia women (girls) massacre whole villages. In general, there has been senseless cruelty and brutality in the play that children at their age cannot carry. This has overburdened the child with dark emotions that may have everlasting negative consequences on the young adults as they grow and adjust themselves to different facets of life" (p. 2).

It is unfortunate that Alembi did not cite any research done to substantiate his opinion as expressed in the paper. It would be invaluable if research was done to ascertain the extent that a child or young adult gets attached to his/her role, and how the role affects him/her in his/her daily life.

Most critics agree that television entertainment is too violent. However, Rodman (2001) holds that the context of the violence (how it is shown and why it is shown) is important. He notes that violence is especially dangerous when its depiction ignores the real-life consequences of violent action, as in professional wrestling and action dramas, people who are grievously injured one minute are shown soon afterward as unhurt, when in real life they would be permanently crippled. Rodman (2001) further notes that dramatic violence is also considered particularly dangerous when it goes unpunished.

When it comes to issues such as domestic violence, it is now taken to be a fact that the home is the most dangerous place in modern society. Giddens (1989) notes that in statistical terms, a person of any age or of either sex is far more likely to be subject to physical attack in the home than on the streets at night. He notes that in Britain, one in four murders is committed by one family member against another. Most of this violence happens in the presence of children and most of the time against children themselves.

In Kenya, there are no official statistics on the extent of violence at home, but with teachers 'allowed' to exert corporal punishment in school (officially the habit has been banned, but it is in effect being widely practiced), then it can only be assumed that the violence these children face at home is even greater and experienced more often. With this kind of background on violence in which children are subjected to or observe, it will not seem to be a new phenomenon in a television programme but a depiction of their everyday life.

Lynskey (1974) notes that although teachers may feel war (violence) to be an unsuitable topic for children, the fact is that children are exposed to constant scenes of war, fighting and suffering on television news and films.

Alembi (2003), while discussing themes in children's plays as a chairperson (as he was then) of the Kenya Schools and Colleges Drama Festival, agrees with Lynkey's observation that violence is an unsuitable topic for children but ignores children's experience with violence. He posits that children are fascinated by nature, they want to see the petals of flowers opening up, they want to listen to and sing with birds as they trill beautiful melodies, they want to hunt and get grasshoppers that they turn into cattle and

flocks of sheep and goats and so on. To Alembi (2003), a child's world is a world of play and not the hard/physical world that have been presented by producers at festivals (Kenya Schools and Collages Drama Festival). He noted that creators of children's works must endeavour to step out of their adult world full of torture, blood bath, pain etc and willingly step into the world of children – a world full of fantasy and adventure, if they are to make the desired impact.

It is also important to note that the question of violence borders on the issue of imminent justice as described by Tsikhungu (2008). He notes that a plot should be universal in terms of what Piaget (1951) describes as 'imminent justice,' whereby everything is thought to work out according to sound moral law, with rewards for good and punishment for the bad. A view that is supported by Cass (cited in Tsikhungu, 2008, p. 19) when she says; "Just because children are at the stage when they are still acquiring standards and value and sorting out their ideas of right and wrong, their stories need to show fairly clearly that goodness, in fact, triumph over evil."

However, when looking at the plot summary of Machachari in which Almasi is wronged by being hit by his mother and later apologises for his 'transgressions', how is imminent justice served and what effect does the episode have on the child? Indeed, one of the lessons is that power relations in the society are skewed to favour those in authority.

Tahidi High, a drama series also aired on Citizen TV, is aimed at teenagers (children in there formative years), specifically those in high school. The programme is in a school setting and features students, teachers, support staff and sometimes parents. Although the programme is set in a school, most of the action takes place outside the classroom as illustrated by a plot of one of the episodes below:

Allan and his friend are walking from class while discussing their just concluded chemistry lesson. They decide that they can experiment on their own by brewing their own home made beer. They storm the kitchen school and make away with pineapples, bread, water and utensils they may need for their 'experiment'. They go to a bush within the school compound and started mixing up a concoction comprising of pineapples, water and bread because they think the wheat in bread will have the alcohol ingredient in it. However they are spotted by another student who joins them in their endeavour. They leave the concoction for a few days to ferment. After three days they check on their concoction and decide the best place to drink the concoction is the student's toilets where they head and consume the brew. After consumption they go back to class where they find their principal, Mr. Tembo, announcing a random drug test to be conducted in the school. The test is to begin with the class and he expects urine samples from all students present. Allan and his group decide to skip school and think of ideas on how to avoid the test. While discussing, they spot a girl who appears to be psychologically unstable. They promise her money in exchange for her urine, but flee without paying her the agreed amount after she has given them a bottle full of urine. After the tests, Mr. Tembo announces that the class has been cleared of drug abuse, but, three students tested positive of pregnancy. He then calls out the names of three boys and instructs them to line up in front of the class. Meanwhile the girl who supplied the urine comes looking for the boys demanding the promised money. However, in class, Allan decided to confess to being pregnant (despite being male), a situation that Mr. Tembo finds unacceptable and sends them to his office where the girl spots and approaches them. She explains her dilemma to Mr. Tembo, who orders the

boys to give her whatever money they had been carrying in their pockets.

Tahidi High digressed from what would have been a conventional children's television in Kenya by the inclusion of themes that challenged the traditional mode of thinking as what is expected to be offered to children. The programme's producers recognised that high school children are sexually active, with boys seeking to have liaisons with girls and girls being preoccupied with the idea of beauty. It can be noticed in the above extract that the boys approach a girl who is almost the same age as them and the issue of the urine testing positive for pregnancy highlights that the girl, although still being a teenager, is sexually active.

Tsikhungu (2008), while analysing the portrayal of children in the selected theatrical pieces, notes that children are portrayed as being concerned so much with romantic relationships, especially boys. He says that this is a negative portrayal of children because it defines them as people who are not focused in life.

Tsikhungu (2008, p. 101) states that, "we would have expected the children to talk of school work or other things that children generally talk about yet they talk of discos and love." To Tsikhungu, discos and romantic relationships should not exist in children's world unless they are children whose guardians have brought them up in a morally corrupt way. Tsikhungu continues by attacking the children in one of the plays he was analyzing by saying that the girl's apparent consent to the boy's romantic involvement proposal is wrong and as such she is a bad role model to children especially girls because they are supposed to have no romantic relationship until such a time when they are ready for marriage.

These views by the Tsikhungu can best be described as being too conservative as Calhoun (1995) cites data collected in the United States of America in the early 90s saying that every year more than a million American teenagers become pregnant. In 1988 alone, 490,000 teenagers gave birth. About 190,000 of these mothers were aged seventeen or younger, and 10,500 were fourteen or younger. In 112,000 cases, the baby was a second, third, or even fourth child. Calhoun concludes by saying that though the United States has the highest teenage pregnancy rate of any industrialized democratic nation, the American teenagers are no more sexually active than those in Canada and Europe.

Data from Africa, and in particular Kenya, is hard to come by, but one only needs to observe teenage behaviour in the country to understand that love and romance are indeed matters that teenagers are interested in. Hence, instead of castigating television and theatre directors for highlighting this theme, we should be more concerned on how the theme has been depicted. The internet has made it easier for children to access Western programmes acted by teenagers with the target audience being fellow teenagers such as Hard Times of R. J. Burger and Awkward; just to mention two Western programmes that have shocking amounts of sexual references.

Wesonga (2011) challenge's Tsikhungu's perception that theatre (and in extension television and books) need to depict children concentrating in class work and not relationships by noting that in Tahidi High the search for affiliation comes out boldly as a quest for identity in teenagers. Wesonga (2011) quotes one of the episodes in which Jean-Joyce (one of the main characters at the time) spends most of her time tagging Ray's (her boyfriend) shirt around school to prove her possession. He notes that Tahidi High, like many other mixed schools in Kenya, is not just an educational centre but also a rendezvous for the

boy-girl relationships, which are typical of the teenage years. It also dawns on the audience that the students treasure these relationships to an extent that the relationships appear more important than their studies.

Akoleit (1990) concurs that issues of teenage pregnancies, early marriages and school drop-outs need to be addressed by children's literature. She notes that these are common problems in schools in Kenya today and they definitely need to be addressed by the morally and socially conscious authors of children's literature. Her views also apply to children's television programmes like Tahidi High which have already captured the attention of teenagers.

However, Tahidi High may have placed too much concentration on relationships between the teenagers outside class that it has failed to tackle significant issues such as the congested curriculum that the Kenyan child is subjected to in the name of education and its effects on the child. With education in the country becoming a competition among schools than the acquisition of knowledge by students, the situation has seen schools adopt strategies such as extra tuition in the evenings and weekends to ensure a decent mean-grade for the school. Subjects such as the place for corporal punishment and its impact on the child's confidence, self-esteem and the sense of self-worth have also escaped the producer's attention.

Akoleit (1990) while analysing Kimenye's Moses series where little learning seems to take place in Mukabi's Educational Institute for the Sons of African Gentlemen, notes the possibility that Kimenye merely wanted to present a make-believe school situation to the overworked child to give him relief from the pressures of real life. She notes that that is the case with Lewis Caroll's Alice in Wonderland where a fantasy world is presented to the child to enable him to escape into a relaxed dream world for a few hours.

The school in Tahidi High may also merely present a setting for the performance without the reflection of the academic pressures and expectations that the child faces. Indeed, the child in Tahidi High is depicted as an individual with plenty of time to spend in out of class activities. In the plot above, Allan and company have ample time to go to a bush to prepare alcohol and sneak out of school in search for a solution when confronted with a drug test without seemingly being worried about their academic performance. However, this is not the case on the ground where students are being pushed to the limits to get good grades for a decent mean-score for the school.

Music has also been noted to be important to children and KBC magazine programmes of the early 90s recognised the attraction. The Magazine programmes such as Variety Show, were in a way a prelude to shows targeting children such as Teen Republic on NTV that has incorporated music as an essential package in its presentation to children. However, a number of music shows offering the latest foreign and local genge, hip-pop, gospel, and rhythm and blues target the general public also have teenagers as their core audience. McQuail (1994) writes that since the rise of the youth-based industry in the 1960s, mass-mediated popular music has been linked to youthful idealism and political concern, to supposed degeneration and hedonism, to drug-taking, violence and antisocial attitudes. Such is the attachment in which the teenagers and the youth have towards music that identifies them and give them a group affiliation.

Currently, all television channels have music shows, with most of them targeting teenagers and the youth. The shows include: KTN's Straight Up, Citizen TV's Mseto East

Africa, KBC's Club One, Kiss TV's Live on Blast and Urban Hits, K24 TV's The Loop, Q TV's Mahewa, and NTV's The Beat and Password. The popularity of the different shows is governed by the presentation of the show and the speed in which the producers get and play new videos.

Conversely, this music programmes that have a large fan base among teenagers may be the most controversial offering to children. The music videos aired are rarely educational, and the majority do not even attempt to present an implied moral lesson like a drama programme targeting children would. Rodman (2001) notes that to reach the greatest possible audience, most television programs are designed to make limited intellectual and aesthetic demand on their viewers. He observes that people spend a lot of time entertaining themselves watching television, which has made critics worried that the quality of lowest-common-denominator programming damages viewers intellectually and emotionally.

However, with new technology and innovations in the presentation of creative work, the media industry together with the needs of children has been evolving. Whatever the child in the 1980s enjoyed, where television was still a luxury only the affluent could afford, and in the current era differ as the child now has more entertainment options available.

Magazine programmes were okay in the 1980s where the child had no other option but KBC when it came to watching television, but with the current generation of children where a six year old can operate a basic program in a computer proficiently and is able to handle advanced computer games with ease, it is worthwhile to re-think the traditional children's programming. The question is, can the traditional format of children's programmes hold the attention of this child who has grown up exposed to a variety of media such as satellite TV, gaming consoles, computer games, DVD's and complicated cell phones that has tons of data including music, videos and the internet.

Conversely, it is also important to note that children are not a homogenous group that one set of rules will apply to all of them. This can be demonstrated in Weche's (2000) thesis where children who responded to Alembi's fantasy book High Adventure, gave differing responses with most of the children from standard four saying that it is possible for a magazine to save a person in danger. However, respondents from standard five were skeptical. Most of them argued that Philip's (the lead character in High Adventure) experience is 'just' his imagination (most likely meaning that this group of pupils did not relate to the book). It is quite astonishing that children just one year apart in terms of age will have very different opinions and relations to one book. This experience can also be related to nine year old twins, where one may regard the children television show Teletubbies as being 'babyish' and prefer narrative serial cartoons such as Avatar, with the other being sentimentally attached to Teletubbies and attain much pleasure in watching it.

The growth and knowledge of a child with appreciation to the arts at different ages is governed by much more than just the child's intellect. It is a fact that different children grow at different rates and appreciate different modes of entertainment, but the child's exposure to the modes of entertainment and the cultural demands of his/her society regarding the forms of entertainment available govern how a child will perceive them.

Siks (1985) and Lewis (1976) while discussing children's theatre, note that content should differ depending on the age-group that the theatre targets. They argue that each age group has a different perception of life and therefore should be presented with content

that appeals to them. Siks (1985) recommends fantasy for six year olds, with eight to eleven year olds being offered adventure, struggles and heroism. At about twelve years, children are idealists and theatre that appeals to them will have characters with power, courage and loyalty. These characters will be central in solving difficult problems. The classification of the content of theatre and the age-grouping it should be presented to can be extended to television targeting children.

Furthermore, the fascination that children had with TV in the 80s when it was the only option available for entertainment apart from socialising with other children is long gone with the majority of Kenyan households (including low income households) not only having a television set but also a DVD player.

However much we have local programming targeting children in television, the concern still remains on the place of the child in such programming. Jacqueline Rose (cited in Alvarado, 1987) observes that children's fiction is impossible, not in the sense that it cannot be written (that would be nonsense), but in that it hangs on an impossibility, one which rarely ventures to speak. She notes that children's fiction sets up a world in which the adult comes first (author, maker, giver) and the child comes after (reader, product, receiver), but where neither of them enter the space between.

Children are usually either audience spectators or participants in various games and competitions that will almost always have an adult taking a prominent role guiding, coaching, moderating or presenting. Hunt (1994) notes that despite the fact that what adults intend is not directly related to what children perceive, children's books very often contain what adults think children can understand and what they should be allowed to understand; and this applies to the literariness as well as to vocabulary or content. This can also be said about children's films and television programs.

Hunt (1994) makes an important contribution on the place of children in the arts by noting;

> "There are three principal human beings between a story and the child reader: the writer, the editor and the adult who makes the book available. If they go down like dominoes, if the adult can dictate to the editor and the editor commandeer the author, then where is the story? Where is the child?" (p. 163)

Hunt (1994) notes that this is inevitable in any literary system, and it is only because of a romantic sense of responsibility of childhood that it seems unusual or undesirable. And such an attitude (which is common) may carry a subtext which questions the expertise of those involved.

This paper has tried to trace the history of children's television in Kenya since the restructuring of KBC in 1989 where more programmes meant for children were offered. The programmes meant for children from 1989 to the 90s were mainly formatted as magazine programmes with the perception that the different programmes will attract children of all age groups. However, it has been observed that making television programmes for children is not as simple or a straightforward matter as there are many considerations and questions to be tackled before embarking on the actual production, chief among them is the question of age. Children are not a homogeneous group that can all be fed on a standardised product. Different age groups with different exposures to television and other visual arts

have different demands in terms of programming that should always be taken into consideration when making a television show targeting them.

Television is one of the tools through which culture can be transmitted, but care should be exercised so that the didactic function of television does not become tedious to the child viewer. The presentation of any programme targeting children on television must always take into account the fact that its target audience is watching not for the sake of education or information, but for entertainment.

However much the society has maintained a conservative view when it comes to children in relation to themes in their television programmes, it is important to note that television is also a way in which children are exposed to the wider realities in the world outside their society. It is crucial that children are exposed to virtues such as kindness and love, but they should also know that the society is made up of a mass of greedy and self-centered people.

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